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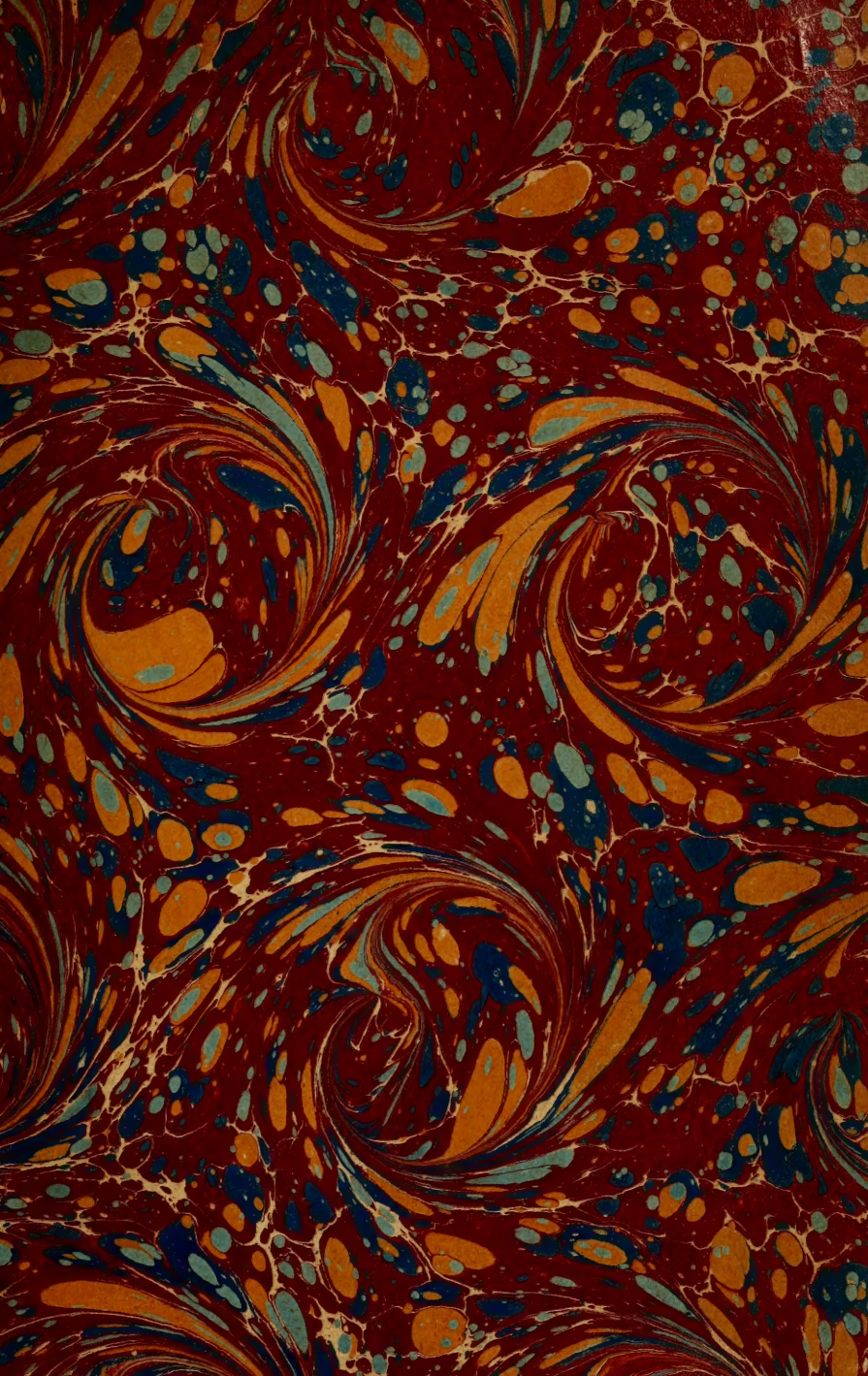
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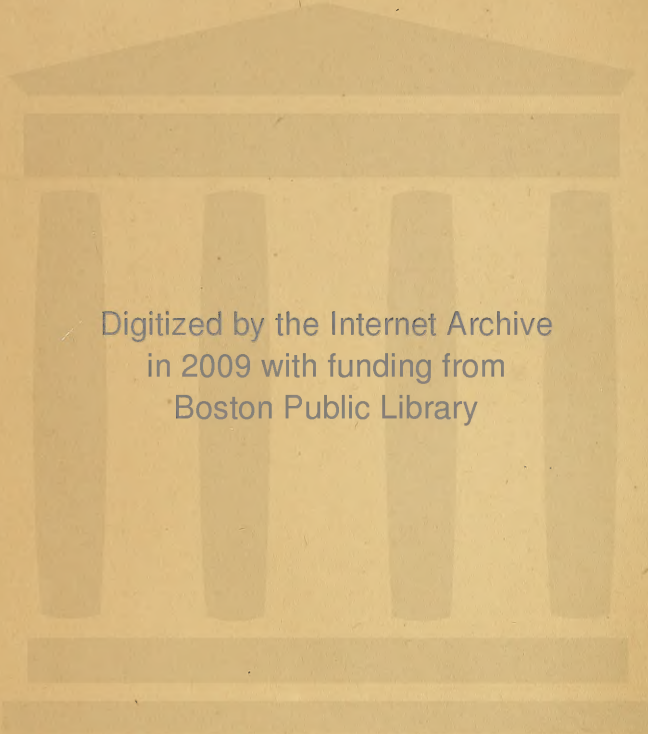


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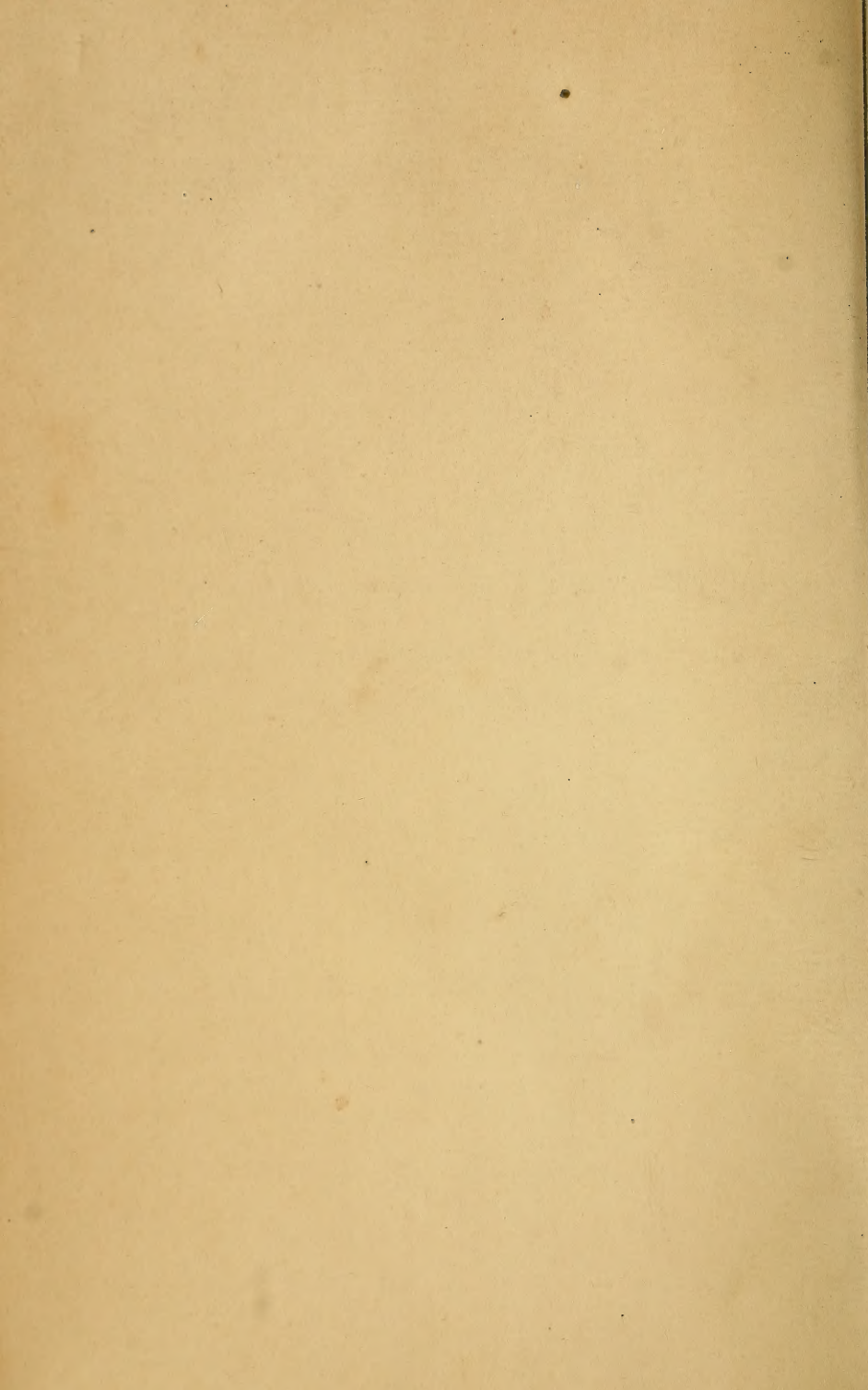
~~Dorchester~~

Vol 1. all published

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Critical acumen
Declines

Barth was distinguished for learning, and
eracity, but his numerous Remarks by
disorder, ^{and} confusion, after strange exertions

tried was diligent - copious and indefatigable - laboring for nearly forty years
collecting the personal relations, but
as, credulous, inattentive to exactness
and blended the veracious and the
improbable (without question) with equal
notion.

as Casas. possessed a heated imagination which
done all he wrote or said; and made his
exaggerate the evils which the natives suffered
both those he saw and those he heard. One
his history in MS. is entitled to particular
attention for exhibiting a chronological
series of events drawn from authentic
documents.

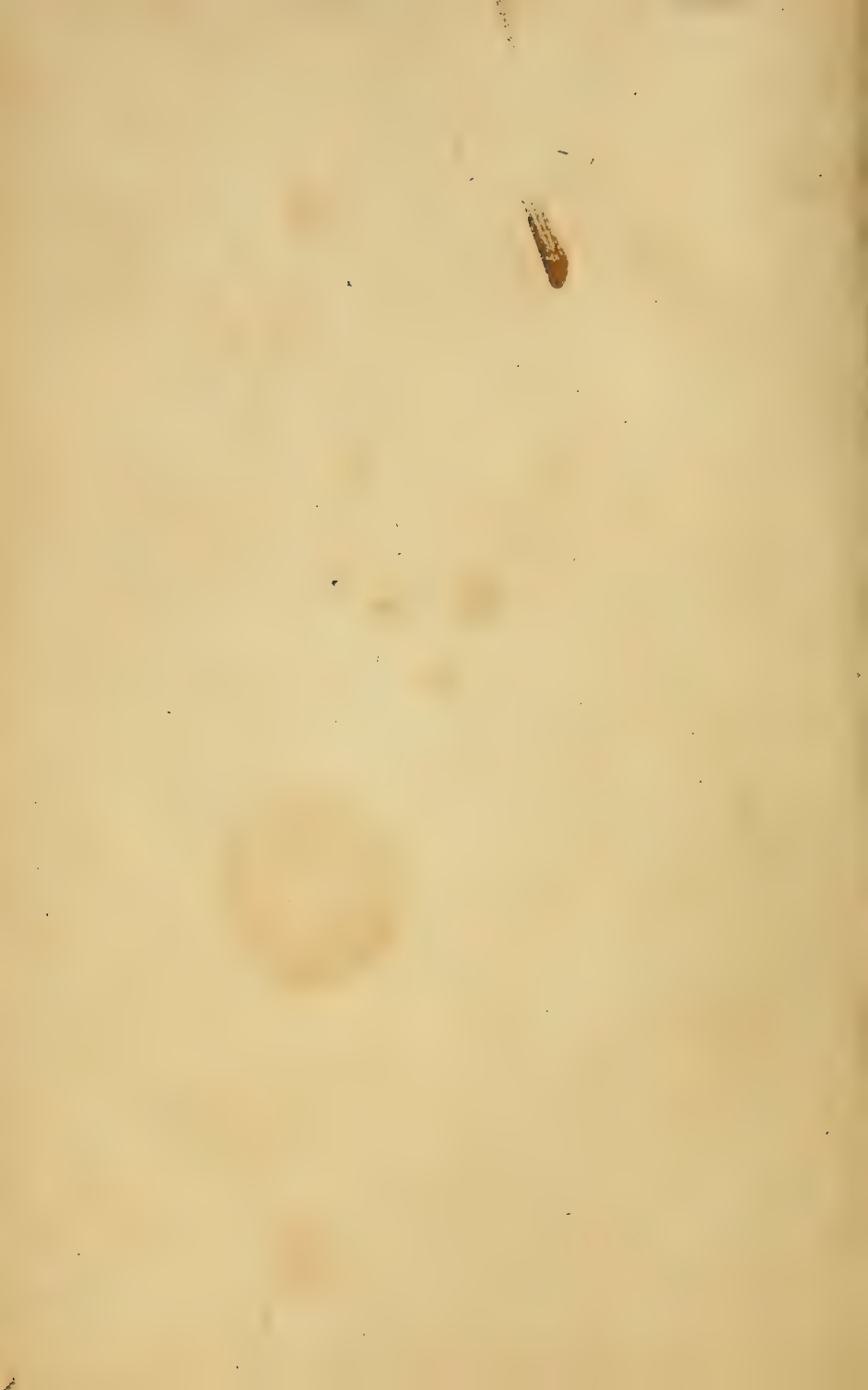
Sepulchre Coffin without order or
choice from Oriole & others, and thus
produced an ill digested and worthless
collection of statements, which can
scarcely be dignified as history.

Hernandez adopted the narrations
of Las Casas, Oriole & others with
indiscriminate objections of the declamatory
injustice of the one, and well
as the improbable or unfortified
narrations of the other.

The value of his history is lessened
by asserting positively what his author
Las Casas expresses with doubt.

William Wright

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE NEW WORLD.







D. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,
The Discoverer of the New World.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE NEW WORLD,

BY
Don Juan Baptista Munoz.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH,

WITH
NOTES

BY
THE TRANSLATOR,

AN
ENGRAVED PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS,

AND
A MAP OF ESPANOLA.

VOL. I.

London :

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1797.

To.

387.725

Oct. 21, 1886

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE motive that gave rise to the History of *America*, will be found in the Dedication of it to the King of *Spain*. The plan, which Mr. *Munoz* digested, and the sources, whence he drew his materials, are set forth in the Introductory Preface, in which he has criticised with great diffidence, and critical acumen, the productions of those who had written before him on this subject, in print and manuscript. He shews under what circumstances they wrote, or were to write. From the candour, learning,

patience and industry of the Author, he appears to have been well calculated for the execution of the undertaking, which was committed to his trust by his Sovereign. It must be confessed that he has not only kept pace with all the *American* historians, but surpassed them in the narration contained in this Volume, which may be seen by a comparison of the present Specimen, with all their printed works, early as well as modern. Amongst the latter, the writings of Dr. *Robertson* confessedly hold the first rank, (at least in our own country) in felicity of expression, and brilliancy of style; but in point of intrinsic merit, and a regular series of interesting facts, Mr. *Munoz*, it is presumed, will be allowed to take the lead; and this might be naturally expected, as he had access to a vast number of documents and original papers, which lay buried in dust and oblivion, unknown to the

Doctor,

Doctor*, or to any one else, till our author called them into light and order. He was also enabled, under the auspices of two Kings and their Ministers, to dissipate many clouds which hung over the History of the Discovery of the *New World*, and to bring several insulated facts into view, which were studiously concealed at the time through political motives.

Notwithstanding, the three first voyages of *Columbus*, contained in this Volume, have

* By a singular arrangement of *Philip* the Second, the Records of the *Spanish* Monarchy are deposited in the Archives of *Simancas*, near *Valladolid*, at the distance of 120 miles from the seat of Government, and the supreme courts of Justice. The papers relative to *America*, and chiefly to that early period of its History, towards which my attention was directed, are so numerous, that they alone, according to one account, fill the largest apartment in the Archive, and according to another, they compose eight hundred and seventy-three

have been so often related, and of course generally known, yet Mr. *Munoz* has exhibited in his detail of them greater accuracy, and a more faithful picture of the sentiments and cast of thought in those days, than any of his predecessors; independent of many subordinate circumstances, overlooked by others, or unknown to them, which he has interwoven with a skilful

huge bundles. Conscious of possessing, in some degree, the industry which belongs to an historian, the prospect of such a treasure excited my most ardent curiosity; but the prospect of it only is all that I have enjoyed. *Spain*, with an excess of caution, has uniformly thrown a veil over her transactions in *America*; from strangers they are concealed with peculiar solicitude. Even to her own subjects, the Archive of Simancas is not opened without a particular order from the Crown, and after obtaining that, papers cannot be copied without paying fees of office so exorbitant, that the expence exceeds what it would be proper to bestow, when the gratification of literary curiosity is the only object. It is to be hoped that the *Spaniards* will at last discover this system of concealment to be no less impolitic than illiberal. *Robertson's Pref.* p. 9, 10.

hand,

hand, and arranged every article that could contribute to render the History of the first voyages, complete and instructive in the best order. It is true, that in some single scenes he is not so diffusive as *Herrera*, but on a fair comparison of both, it will be found, though he sometimes passes over a single detail, which the Father of American History dilates with too much minuteness, that *Munoz* omits nothing material, or any point that may tend to clear up the subject.

The distinguished merit of our Author, as the Historian of the *New World*, is conspicuous in his plan, which is intended to trace the gradual extension of the discoveries of *America*, and the manner in which the *Spaniards*, and other *European* nations, possessed themselves of different parts of that continent, and the circumjacent islands, down to the latest period; an important historical acquisition; for as yet such a comprehensive design has not been sketched out,

nor

nor is there any complete History even of the extension of the *Spanish* dominions in that quarter. Many interesting particulars, relative to this subject, are yet involved in obscurity, or only mentioned by particular writers, of whom we have no translations.

The present Volume includes but a short period; but as the Author, by recent accounts, is incessantly employed in the continuation of the Work, we hope to receive the next Volume in a short time, and shall proceed as speedily as possible to lay it before the reader in an *English* dress. As to the present translation, the utmost care has been taken to render it faithful, and to convey the sense of the writer in the same plain language in which he has expressed it in the original.

The notes which have been annexed, are mostly translated from the *German* of Professor *Sprengel*, one of the most eminent Historians,

rians, and statistical Scholars of *Germany*. As to those which Mr. *Munoz* promises himself to give, we presume, they will be added to the second, or some succeeding Volume. They will undoubtedly be of great value, as he says that he will quote his authorities, and adduce the reasons which govern his judgment, as often as he may differ from other writers; he also proposes to communicate discussions, which could not, with propriety, be introduced into the body of the narrative.

The Portrait of *Columbus*, and the Map of *Espanola*, are engraved after the originals.

TO

TO THE KING.

SIRE,

YOUR Majesty's father, of glorious memory, commanded me to write the History of the *New World*: a Work, if properly executed, of the highest importance to Government, to the glory of the Nation, and to the extension of the horizon of the learned World. Anxious to render myself worthy of a distinction so highly honourable, the innumerable difficulties, that presented themselves, immediately vanished, and my only care was to unite my industry and feeble talents in the prosecution of so arduous an undertaking. The wisdom and magnanimity of his Majesty animated my
exer-

exertions; the regal Archives and Libraries were thrown open to my inspection; Communities and Individuals cheerfully followed the royal example: so that, by unremitting assiduity, I have been enabled to draw from these Sources, an immense Collection of Documents, particularly Manuscripts, even beyond my most sanguine expectations. If the ability of the Artist were equal to the quantity and quality of the Materials, the Public might then look for a Work of distinguished excellence; but my inability dare not aspire to the gratification of such a hope. I have drawn up the best Plan that my judgment could suggest: how far I have succeeded, must be left to the decision of the unbiassed; all that I pretend to say with confidence, is, that I have exerted all my power in the impartial selection of facts, and that I have endeavoured to detail them in a plain and unadorned style. Conscious of having thus far discharged the important

trust

trust reposed in me, in obedience to his Majesty's Will, I humbly hope that your Majesty will condescend to accept, with your wonted indulgence, the first part of my labours, that I may be enabled, under your auspices, to continue them for the glory and advantage of your Empire.

JUAN BAPTISTA MUNOZ.

INTRODUCTORY PREFACE

OF

THE AUTHOR.

ON the 17th of July, 1779, I received the royal mandate to write the History of *America*. At the same time his Majesty ordered, that I should have free access to all the necessary documents and writings for that purpose. In consequence of which, I began to examine the archives belonging to the department of *India* at *Madrid*, out of which I copied and extracted all that related to the dominions of Spain in the *New World*. I likewise sought for the depositories of a number of papers

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which.

which I could not find in this collection. And having received sufficient information on this subject, I represented the necessity of going to *Salamanca, Seville, Cadiz*, and many other places. In order to gratify this wish, his Majesty authorized me, by public credentials, dated March 27th, 1781, to make use of all the public, monastic, and private libraries, as well as archives, in whatever place I should think proper. He was also pleased to recommend my pursuits and myself in very impressive terms. Necessary orders were also issued to facilitate the conveyance of the materials with all possible dispatch. All that I desired was immediately granted, and much more than I could have the confidence to expect, in a manner so condescending and polite, that I should be guilty of the highest injustice and ingratitude, if I did not publicly acknowledge the unremitting attention and indulgence with which I have been favoured by the King and
his

his Ministry in my researches, and the extraordinary generosity and liberality held out to excite my industry. Nor, can I omit this opportunity of expressing the deep sense which I feel of the honour conferred on me in the commission, and the confidence reposed in me, as there is not the least suggestion or instruction in that instrument of the plan that I should pursue, or the sentiments that I should hold in the prosecution of the undertaking. Every thing that concerned the Work was left entirely to myself, and to render my endeavours still more easy, I was left at liberty, to consult the documents myself, or to empower others on whom I could depend to examine them, if the distance should be inconvenient. His Majesty's Ministers favoured and protected all my views. They expressed a wish, it is true, in the beginning, and in the progress of the Work, to see a part, or the whole, published as soon as possible, in terms of the

greatest politeness, provided it could be done, with sufficient accuracy and attention, to bring the truth to light.

At the time I embarked in this undertaking, it was impossible to calculate the precise period that it would require to finish it, as I was not thoroughly acquainted with our chief archives, or their contents; it was, besides, little known what communities or individuals might possess, either from chance or interesting views. The want of information on these preliminary points, and the little attention paid, for a long period, to the royal archives, and the certainty that some of the most valuable of these papers had been carried off; in short, our inattention with respect to these matters, led me to suppose that it would not require many years to extract and arrange all that should appear necessary from the manuscripts. I was not singular in this opinion,
for

for all that was in general expected, from the supposed paucity of written materials, were some additional proofs and authorities, either to confirm the facts already detailed in printed publications, or to illustrate some doubtful passages.

I was the more confirmed in this opinion, when I examined the registers of what is contained in the secret archives of the Tribunal of the *Indies*, where I scarce found one paper relative to the first period. Notwithstanding the royal orders, that the greatest number and most important papers on the subject should be deposited there, I was not less disappointed in consulting the rest of the repositories and libraries belonging to this Tribunal, except the Registers of Orders, Charters, Treaties, and several other acts of government, which are kept in the Secret Office belonging to *Peru*. These form a copious and valuable collection,

though many volumes are wanting. Of letters and reports, sent and made, in consequence of discoveries by viceroys, military commanders, magistrates, divines, and other persons employed in travels, taking views, in conquests, establishments, &c. there were little or no account at all to be found.

As to the writings of the *Royal Commercial Tribunal*, of which I endeavoured to obtain some information, through the medium of some inventories, and other enquiries, I was informed that I was not to hope for a large fund in that department, as a considerable portion of them had been thrown away as illegible, and the rest had fallen a prey to the worms. I was apprehensive that the writings in the Tribunal of the *Indies* had shared the same fate, nay, even those that had been carried at different times to *Salamanca*,

I suspended

I suspended my judgment, however, with respect to these head archives, and ventured to flatter myself that I might alight on a treasure that would amply repay my solicitude. I was not disappointed; I alighted on a treasure, as I may call it, of original writings of all kinds, which lay buried in those places, and which remained almost entirely unknown. *Leon Pinelo* had examined a few of them, and has given an account of their titles, by no means sufficient to enable a person to judge of the whole. *Riöl* had examined the Nine Rolls, under the head of *De Patronato*. It does not appear that the remainder arrested his attention, farther than the bindings and superscriptions, which was as much as a traveller could do in the space of half an hour, *en passant*, who merely came to visit the fortrefs. While I began to turn over the prodigious mass of documents, which went under the general title *De Gobierno*,

and which included all that did not relate to law-suits, or judicial transactions, (for these were classed under another general head, viz. *de Justicia*,) when I began to see, I say, a vast confused quantity of letters, reports, discourses, deliberations, declarations, determinations, respecting all objects and times; I collected courage, to advance in an undertaking, which I would have found myself under the necessity of relinquishing, without these auxiliaries.

I resolved to pursue the same plan in the composition of my history, which those philosophers called *Restauratores*, have adopted in the examination of physical subjects, namely, general scepticism, with regard to those works which had already appeared on the History of the *New World*, with a firm resolution to bring every matter of fact that I could find into light, with all their different ramifications, in order to ascertain

the truth as far as possible, founded on genuine and indisputable documents. I have uniformly adhered to this determination, notwithstanding the fatigue of the labour, or the difficulty of the examination. I met with a collection of materials at *Salamanca*, which so far exceeded my expectation, that I indulged higher hopes of other archives and libraries, in case they should be examined. I had the pleasure of finding these hopes, however sanguine, realized, especially at *Seville*, as well as in the ancient archives of the Tribunal of the *Indies*, as in those of the town, the church, the *Carthusian*, cloister, and other monasteries, and also amongst several individuals. The Exchequer of this Tribunal at *Cadix* contained a large collection of papers, which were wanting in the archives belonging to it at *Seville*. I also found a considerable collection in the chief archives of *Portugal*, which are kept in *St. Benito*, at *Lisbon*. *Torre de Tombo*, so named from
the

the place in which they were formerly deposited, till the fatal earthquake in the year 1755. I also alighted on some valuable documents in several other parts of that kingdom, partly original, and partly authenticated copies. What may not be atchieved by patience and industry! I shall not presume to say that I have brought together a sufficient number of documents so as to form one continued chain of narration, but I can venture to say, that they will furnish many new and important articles, and that I have satisfied myself as to the truth of most of the principal events, and that I have obtained a clear view with respect to the collateral circumstances, causes, and references, which I am certain will dissipate many doubts, and elucidate many passages, hitherto involved in obscurity, considering the ravages of time, I foresaw that it would be impossible that these documents, which deserve the name, would be sufficient

cient to complete the whole. I expected, however, to derive additional aid from many particular narrations, which had not appeared in print, but composed by persons worthy of credit, some of whom were actors in or witnesses of the events; and others cotemporaries, who drew their accounts from the same sources, and others who lived near the time, and possessed the original writings, since lost. Of all these classes, I have obtained many manuscripts, especially in the Royal Library of *Madrid*, the *Escurial*, the Convent of *Monferat*, the Colleges of *Saint Bartholomew* and *Cuença*, at *Salamanca*, also in *Saint Gregory*, in *Valladolid*, the Cathedral at *Palencia*, in *Sacromonte* in *Granada*, the Convents of *Saint Francis* at *Tolosa*, *Saint Dominick* in *Malaga*, *Saint Acaño*, *Saint Joseph*, and *Isidore del Campo* at *Seville*.

In

In these and several other places; I discovered, independent of these M.S.S. several histories, chronicles, and other writings relative to *America*, some of which are more interesting than those which were hitherto submitted to public inspection. In some of them, matters of fact are more sure and certain; in some, also, are found the originals, from which less authenticated copies have been drawn, and others contain matters which are treated with particular skill and address, which have been omitted in the printed copies. I have even found the originals of printed works useful, as they exhibit the text in its genuine state, free from interpolations, which often arise from many reasons, well known to those who are in the habits of detecting such impostures, by a careful examination of parallel passages, together with critical notes, and remarks on several writings, partly edited, and in-

edited

edited, by which I have been able to attain a solid and sufficient knowledge of them, and to avoid certain errors into which I should have otherwise fallen.

For the present this cursory account of the documents and manuscripts which I have amassed through incessant labour and assiduity, and which I constantly study and examine, may suffice, as I intend to give a more accurate and complete account of their merits and contents, in a more convenient and suitable place. I feel myself now called on, to add something to the merit and utility of the works already printed, and which I have perused in the execution of this volume.

The Admiral *Don Christopher Columbus* wrote a short narrative himself of his first discovery, which was translated into half barbarous *Latin*, by *Leandro de Cosco*, and
published

published at *Rome* in the year 1493*. This was afterwards reprinted, and appeared, though not in a correct or faultless manner, in the well known *Hispania Illustrata* of *Andrew Schott*. I have chiefly made use of the original text, which the court chaplain, *Andreo Bernaldez*, has almost entirely preserved in his unedited History of the Catholic Kings. I have likewise made use of other little writings of the Admiral, part of which have been singly printed, such as his Testamentary Disposition, and part are found in several Memoirs and later publications, such as the papers concerning the law-suits among his descendants, a panegyric which appeared fourteen years since at *Parma*, and especially the account of the life of that illustrious navigator, written by his worthy son, *Don Fernando*.

* There is a copy of this edition in the King's Library at *Madrid*.

This

This work is highly interesting with regard to the period of which we are now about to speak, as it contains all the Admiral's papers, with some fragments judiciously and carefully selected. I confess that I am much indebted to it, and should be still more so, if I had not discovered many of the same papers, of which the Author availed himself, sometimes entire, sometimes in copious extracts, and, perhaps, a larger share of documents relative to the government, its dispositions, ordinances, and directions, than he possessed. *Fernando Columbus* was well calculated for this undertaking. He was learned and enlightened for the age in which he lived; notwithstanding these accomplishments, he fell into some unaccountable errors, for instance, in what he states as the cause of the Admiral's arrival in *Portugal**; as to the rest he
may

* *Vida del Alm.* Cap. 5. The occurrence, which he mistakes, as the cause of this, took place many
years

may be depended on with respect to matters of fact in general. It were to be wished that his Spanish original, or, at least, a good translation of it could be discovered, for we have only the *Italian* translation of it by *Alphonso Ulloa*, which, in all probability, was made from a corrupt and false copy, and from which afterwards the miserable Spanish translation of *Barcia* was taken*.

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years afterwards; it happened in 1485, as appears from *Sabellico*, whose authority he quotes *Rapsod Historiar. ann. 10, Lib. 8, Histor. rerum Venet. Dec. 4, Lib. 3*. In the proofs and illustrations, which I intend to publish at the end of the second volume of my History, with which the first epoch will be concluded, and which I call the period of our Catholic kings, will be exhibited the errors and oversights of several writers; for the present I shall only mention one or more.

* *Don Andrea Gonzalez Barcia*, Royal Spanish Historian, and Counsellor of State, collected in 1749, three volumes in folio, under the title of *Historiadores primitivos*

A number of false statements and absurdities are to be found in both, which may lead a reader into error that is not possessed of a good critical judgment. This Life of the Admiral, if read with caution, will render the perusal of several other authors unnecessary, who have not expressly written his life. They have, however, passed in review before my eyes. As cotemporaries, containing so many useful things relative to the person and discoveries of *Columbus*, the following deserve to be mentioned, namely *Antonio Gallo*, author of a little tract, which *Muratori* has

tivos de las Indias Occidentales. This collection was formed from several of the first *Historiographers* and *Geographers* of the *New World*. He translated some of them, for example, from *Ulricus Schmiedel*, the German, who, between 1534 and 1540, noted down the discovery of the river *de la Plata*, and the country of *Paraguay*. The Life of *Columbus* (consisting of 108 chapters) is prefixed to the first volume of this Collection.

T. N.

C

published

published in his voluminous collection of the *Italian* writers, T. 23. *Bartholemy Senarega*, in his Commentaries *De rebus Genuensibus*, which are inserted in T. 24 of the same collection : *Marco Antonio Sabelico*, in his *Rapsodia*, enn x. lib. 8. At the commencement of the sixteenth century, almost all the historiographers, and even writers who treated on other subjects, mentioned something of the first discovery of *America*, which they repeated, without any examination, from those who wrote on this subject solely ; for which reason, I think it needless to cite them, as well as the poets, who endeavoured to raise the glory of the Admiral in poetic fictions.

Of those who followed up the discoveries of *Columbus*, till the year 1500, no account is extant in public, except that of the famous *Vespucius*, after whose name *Americo*, (he signed himself *Amerigo*) the *New World*, was
acci-

accidentally called *America*, some years after his death, which happened on the 22d of February, 1512*. His narrations, published se-

* In an account-book, containing the expenditure of the Treasurer of the Royal mercantile house at *Seville*, there is the following item: "Paid, on the 24th of February, 1512, to *Manuel Catano*, Canon of the Church of this town of *Seville*, in his quality as executor of the will of *Amerigo Vesputche*, lately deceased, chief steersman to his Majesty, 10937 and a half maravedis, which were due to the aforesaid *Vesputche* out of the annual salary that was allowed to him by his Majesty, viz. from the first of January of the aforesaid year till the 22d of the month of February, on which day the aforesaid *Amerigo* died. He was appointed chief steersman, with a salary of 50,000 maravadiis a year, by virtue of a Royal letter patent, dated at *Burgos* on the 22d of March, 1508, and by another of the same date a bounty of 25,000 was granted to him. The same salary and bounty were granted to his successor, *Juan Diaz de Solis*, who was appointed at *Burgos* on the 25th of March, 1512, but with a *proviso* of giving 10,000 maravadiis annually to the widow of *Vesputius Maria Cerezo*, during her life." Anterior to this, the year of *Amerigo's* death was actually unknown.

parately at different times, and at last reduced into one collection, under the care of *Angelo Maria Bandini*, at Florence, in the year 1745*, have only served me as additional evidence of his impostures, which I shall display in their proper places. I cannot, however, pass over this strange instance of *Charletannerie*, without one observation. *Vesputius*, as a navigator, was placed in almost the very last rank of the naval adventurers of his day. He was rewarded nevertheless in preference to all the rest, and till of late his memory has not been much less revered than that of the unrivalled *Columbus* himself. Though a thousand writers have stripped the *Florentine*

* The title is *Vita e Lettere di Amerigo Vesputii, Gentiluomo Fiorentino raccolte e illustrate dal Abbate Ang. Mar. Bandini Firenze. 1745, 128 p. 4to.* Besides the reprinted reports of the voyages which *Vesputius* undertook in the service of *Spain* and *Portugal*, the work contains nothing but what is generally known.

T. N.
impostor

impostor of his pilfered laurels, yet he has not been without his defenders, who have attempted to maintain the vain glory of their hero by the help of poetical fictions, and instead of promised authentic documents, think it sufficient to refer to Moreri*.

Now

* This is the mode which *Bandini* pursues in his Life of *Vesputius*, which he prefixed to the foregoing Narratives. He attributes imaginary voyages to him, which are as devoid of truth as the dreaming reveries of *Hieronymusne Bartholomy* in his poem *La America*, published at *Rome* in 1650. *Felice* passes as the reputed author of the Lives of the celebrated Men and Women of *Italy*, which appeared in the French language at *Yverdon* in 1768, in two volumes 12mo. The second volume concludes with the life of *Vesputius*, of which the author seems very proud, saying, *Je me flatte que ma patrie tous les gens de Lettres, le public ennemi de l'erreur me sauront son gré de ce que je n'ai rien épargné pour leur retracer Vespucci selon l'exacte vérité, que j'ai tirée des monumens le plus authentiques comme il convient à un historien?* And how does he perform this?—He does nothing more than

Now let us speak of the fathers of our National History. The first was *Pietro Martir*, a native of *Anghiera*, in *Milan*, which he called in Latin *Angleria*; he may be reckoned a *Spaniard*, as he was naturalized in *Spain*, where he passed the greatest and best part of his life in the service of the Crown, from the year 1487 (in which *Count Tendilla* took him to *Rome*) till 1526, where he died, at the age of sixty-nine*. His principal works

draw from *Bandini*, and repeats his errors—nothing of his own; confounding *Herrera* with *Ferreras*, whom he calls an old author and worthy of credit.

* *Martir* took leave of the Pope on the 29th of August, 1487, as he states in the first of his printed letters, dated at *Saragosa* the first of January, 1488. He wrote the last chapter of his *Decad* in the beginning of the year 1526, as the concatenation shews, and died in the same year, as appears from the epitaph which *Nicolas Antonio* quotes. On the 2d of February, in the same year, he accomplished the sixty-ninth year of his age, as he says himself in the 8th *Decad*. Chap. 8.

are

are his eight Decads of the *New World*, divided each into ten chapters. He was in possession of the letters, narratives, and charts, which related to the conduct and adventures of the *Spaniards* in the *New World*; he had besides many opportunities of conversing with the chief persons, who assisted either by their swords or their councils in the subjugation or government of that country. At length he was appointed one of the Counsellors of the Tribunal of the *Indies* *. He was a well-

* He assumed this office (says *Casaus Hist. Cronal.* M.S. L. 2, cap. 44.) in the year 1518, and delivered his Royal diploma when I was present. He was raised to this post in the town of *Saragosa* by the Emperor, immediately on his accession to the throne. At that time, the tribunal of the *Indies* was but an assembly of the Counsellors of other tribunals. When, in the year 1524, this tribunal was established as a particular one, with a President and some Counsellors, *Martir* was appointed one of these, as he tells us in his 800th letter, and in many other places of his letters and decads.

informed man, fond of writing historical memoirs ; he would have gratified every wish, in addition to his inclination, opportunity, and care, in noting down all that passed, had he employed more diligence in the examination of the narratives, and in the comparing of them all together, and had he also devoted a little more time to the composition and refinement of his labours ; but in this respect he was exceedingly inattentive and negligent. Sometimes, in the interval of the cloth being laid * and the dinner served up, he would write a couple of letters, in the utmost haste, from the first narrative that he had just received ; and in the same careless manner he wrote all the chapters of his *Decads*, which he committed to paper at different times ; so that it should not be matter of surprise, if accuracy and regular order are not

* The learned *Juan de Vergara* says so in a letter, the words of which are quoted by *Nicolas Antonio*.

to be found in this hasty and undigested collection. He also attempted to speak of things which had passed in the lapse of several years, and would confound them; and in general he fell into various mistakes and errors. When his memory began to fail him, to such a degree as not to be able to recollect what he had first written, his negligence prevailed so far, that he would not be at the pains to read it over again, in order to amend it. After all, he is entitled to indulgence, in consequence of the sincerity with which he confesses this himself *, as an apology for his reluctance in the publication of his Sketches †.

The

* In many of his Decads, especially in the first, chap. 3 and 10, and in the eighth, chap. 8 and 9.

† “ *Nobis* (he says) *ista servaremus, cuperem. Satius namque est latere, quam incompetis populari dente corrodì.*” Thus he wrote in the letter, which accompanied his works, to Count *Tendilla*, who solicited them for publication, which was executed by *Jac. Corumberger*,
 anno

The Decads, whatever their merit may be, contain many particulars, which are not to be found any where else, and written besides by a cotemporary judicious writer of well-known candour and sincerity. His letters are also entitled to the same praise, in which, amongst the chief events of Spain, during a period of thirty-seven years, (her brightest epoch) those of the *New World*, by the bye, are occasionally related. But the reader should be on his guard, as well in the perusal of this work, as in the former. There are many errors in the statements, and sometimes two letters that were written at different times are blended in one, which

anno 1511. The whole is comprized in a slender volume in folio, in which is contained *Legatia Babylonica: Oceani Decas: Poemata: Epigrammata.* Antonio de Leprija, the mirror of *Spain*, as *Martir* calls him, in the letter just quoted, was the editor of it, and prefixed a preface to it. In other parts of his works, and in his conversation, he evinced much diffidence with regard to his writings, and great deference to public opinion.

evidently

evidently appears in the 168th*, (according to *Elziver's* Edition, *Amsterdam*, 1670, fol.) and might easily be shewn in others. I am persuaded these mistakes ought to be attributed to the collector of the single papers of *Martir*. And I think it would be of essential service to the history of our nation, if some person would favour the public with a new edition of those Letters in a correct manner; and of still greater use, if the Editor would add those of *Lucas Marino Siculo*, another historical treasure of the same day, which is less known than it deserves to be.

* From the beginning of it, to the words "ad alia nunc deveniamus," he treats of the deeds of *Columbus* in his journey to *Paria* in the year 1498, and at the same time also mentions the discovery of the Pearls in 1500. What follows after these words belongs solely to the year 1496, but is placed here as if it referred to the whole.

Per-

Perhaps it may not be deemed foreign to the subject, as I have mentioned this writer, to quote a passage out of *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo*, in that part of his History of the Indies, which has never been printed, L. 34, Cap. 3, thus he speaks, though the Prothonotary *Peter Martir*, a Milanese, and *Fra. Bernardo Gentil*, a Sicilian, both Historiographers to his Majesty, have written of *Indian* affairs, yet it was suspected that they were in want of certain accounts in many things which they mentioned, besides that their latinity was much affected as well as their stile.

Marineo of *Sicily* introduced *Gentil* or *Gentile*, his countryman, to public notice; he was a Dominican friar, lived and taught in *Spain* in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was famed as a witty poet. The only knowledge I have of his writings, is, that he endeavoured to extol the exploits
of

of the great Admiral in heroic verse*. As to what is said of him in the foregoing passage, that he had been an historian under the Emperor, and that he had touched, though slightly, on *India* matters, and that his *Latin* and style were affected and turgid, are acceded to by *Marineo*. But as for the historical work which is mentioned as printed, and in which the Transactions of America are related, it is possible that every information might escape my enquiry, but it is also as possible, that it might have found its way into that passage through mistake. That a man ignorant of *Latin* himself if we may credit *Fernando Columbus*†, should find fault with the *Latin* of two excellent Grammarians, in-

* This appears from three Letters of *L. Marineo*, L. 5, 15, and 17. I find no other accounts elsewhere, however, respecting this *Fra Bernardo Gentile*.

† Life of the Admiral, chap. 10.

duces me to think that this passage had been communicated to *Oviedo*, and foisted in by him, as he frequently confounded, and misapplied the literature of others, for which he has been criticised by the author just quoted.

I suspend my opinion, however, on this, as well as on the ignorance, with which *Oviedo* is taxed, who received the title of the “Historian of the Indies,” and who endeavoured to render his history universal, but his abilities were not equal to an undertaking of such great magnitude. In truth, his knowledge of ancient literature was very confined, as he was unable to call the *Greek* and *Roman* writers to his aid, as his learned censor evinces*. He was not, however, an entire stranger to the Latin

* It was likewise observed by *Francis de Tamara*,
Suma y breve relacion de todas las Indias, cap. 7.

tongue, which appears from the frequent use he makes of it in his history, especially in those books which were not published, and of which many are still in existence. Be it as it may, I shall always commend his unwearied diligence, by which he has left many monuments behind him in the different manuscripts, which I have seen in several libraries. He devoted his chief attention upwards of thirty, or perhaps forty years of his maturer age to the affairs of the *New World*. He observed, wrote, and enquired without intermission, and he improved and augmented his manuscripts with inimitable diligence. It is to be lamented that so laudable a curiosity, joined to such industry, were not united with more learning. Notwithstanding, if his personal circumstances, and the age in which he lived, be taken into consideration, he ought to be prized with respect to his natural history, though he falls infinitely short of *Pliny*, whom

whom he had taken as his model. As a civil historian his only claim is in having rescued from oblivion, several occurrences, to which he was an eye-witness, and some important relations which chiefly relate to the time of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, as to the period of which we now purpose to treat, he can be of little service. Destitute of documents and critical powers, and not availing himself of the books which he had of *Pietro Martir*, he jumbled dates and facts together, and filled his narrations with fables, which he had heard from different persons who could not be depended on, and who had forgotten the events, and their consequences, or who sometimes abused the credulity of our poor chronicler; as a proof of this, it is only necessary to cast an eye over the 13th chapter of the second book.

Martir and *Oviedo* are the sources, whence all those who have composed histories on the subject

subject of *America* to the sixteenth century have drawn their accounts. The Narration of the Discoveries of *Columbus*, and his followers at the end of the fifteenth, and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, which appeared in the Collection of Voyages, under the title of the *New World*, and first printed at *Venice* in 1507, were taken from a manuscript of the first Decad of *Martir*. as he has already observed, but he is mistaken in ascribing them to *Lewis Cademsto*, without any other reason than that they form the continuation of the Voyage of this *Venetian Navigator**. *Pe-*

* This collection was published in the Italian, the first edition is noticed by *Tirabaschi Storia della Letterat. Ital.* T. VI. P. I. p. 167. It was soon after translated into Latin, its celebrity was increased by *Simon Gryneus*, who augmented it considerably, and improved the translation. This last edition appeared under the title, *Novus Orbis regeonum et insularum veteribus incognitarum.* Argent. 1532. fol. It has been reprinted several times.

*Peritsol** of *Avignon*, the Jew, cotemporary with the author of the *Voyages round the World*, took the few and the bad things, which he cites relative to the *American Voyages* out of this Collection, as also the miserable narrations, which are to be found in the *Cosmography of Munster* some years before, which the latter also took from the same collection. *John Battista*, the learned

* *Abraham Peritsol* wrote at the beginning of the sixteenth century a kind of Universal Geography in Hebrew, in which he enumerated the countries then known, especially the discoveries of the *Portuguese in Africa*, and some accounts of *America* from the earliest and best descriptions of those times, and copied them with all the faults and marvelous tales, without any examination. The famous *Thomas Hyde* has published the original with a Latin translation, from a manuscript in the *Bodleian Library at Oxford*, which he has enriched with notes much more learned than the work deserves. The title is *Itinera Munde, sic dicta nempe Geographia Autore Abr. Peritsol Oxonii 1691.* T. N.

collector

collector of Voyages, made an extract from *Martir*, but only from the three first Decads. He has, as already mentioned, arranged the narrations in a better manner, especially at the beginning with regard to the personal history of the Admiral, and his negotiations, anterior to the discovery of the *New World*. *Ramusio* also published in his collection the works of *Oviedo* (with whom he held a correspondence) in a translation, and thus he diffused those accounts, which the authors of those times made use of, when they touched *en passant* on the discoveries and establishments of the *Spaniards* in *India*.

*Antonio Galvan**, a native of *Portugal*, stands still less distinguished in his *Treatise*

* *A. Galvan* wrote a discourse in the *Portuguese* on ancient and modern Discoveries, the last edition of which appeared at *Lisbon* in 1731. fol. It was afterwards translated into *English*, and printed in the Collection of Voyages, published by *Osborne*, a bookseller in *London*, from 1704 to 1747. N. T.

on the Old and New Discoveries till 1550, in which he very injudiciously abridged, what others had previously treated with much more learning and copiousness, without the addition of any important article, except some uncertain traditions.

In the year 1552 *Francisco Lopez de Gomara* published "*The Universal History of the Indies and the New World.*" The first work that deserves this name, though the geographical order which he follows throughout the whole, is not the most proper and convenient for a production of this kind. *Gomara* was a scholar, and master of a fine style, if he had only possessed materials and patience sufficient for the examination and combination of them; it is not to be doubted, but he would have merited highly of the nation, and the public in general; but he threw whatever he found before him together without selection, and trusted to false
and

and improbable tales, particularly in the beginning of his book, which he chiefly took from Oviedo, traditions, and popular tales. In the same year (1552) the bishop of Chiapa Fra Bartolomé de las Casas, or Casaus, for he signed himself both ways, published his celebrated work, entitled "*A short Narrative of the Destruction of the Indies.*" The offspring of a heated imagination, which some deem to be unworthy of such a divine, but the same warmth pervaded all his writings, whether intended for the press, for the highest tribunal, or for the king himself. He wrote the work we now allude to forty years after his first voyage to America. He introduces an epitome of our discoveries and colonies, but exaggerates the outrages of the colonists to the natives, as well those which he saw, as those which he did not see. The historian can draw very little from so short a sketch. The same prelate has left more valuable

works in manuscript, and which I intend to review in a more proper place. That which he calls a chronicle at one time, and a history of the *West Indies* at another, is entitled to particular attention, and which in a strict sense exhibits a chronological series of events drawn from authentic documents. He intended to publish it in six books, but three in folio only appeared, which came down to the year 1520. The best accounts out of this work, which really have contributed very much to the illumination of the first period, have been worked up in the Decads of *Herrera*, as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter.

At the same time, I do not know that out of jealousy to the bishop of *Chiapa*, *Juan Gines de Sepulveda* was impelled to compose seven books in Latin “*of the Feats of the Spaniards in the New World.*” The only source almost whence he drew these accounts

counts was *Fernandez de Oviedo*, out of whose printed works, he copied and omitted without choice or order, with an intention of publishing an epitome of the most remarkable events which had taken place in *America*.

He begins his narration in 1492, and carries it down to the year 1521, but so ill connected, so meagre, and barren of important transactions, and at the same time so full of errors, particularly in the beginning, that if I were not convinced of it by ocular demonstration, I never should have thought that such vile trash could have issued from so able a hand. The infirmities of old age fell on him at an earlier period than usual, which so far may plead his apology. Fifteen years before our author began this work, he wrote the history of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth. This last is better known, but not sufficiently made use of. *D. Luis de Avila y Zuniga*, in a letter to *Pero Mexia*, says, “ I have conversed with *Sepulveda* at

Valladolid, and he appeared to me to be very old. The duke of *Alba*, with whom I also spoke, told me, that *Sepulveda* had asked him, who was the commander in chief at the German war? The duke smiled, and told him, he had the honour of bearing that commission himself. Such inattention induces me to think that he might have committed more mistakes*.”

After this able humanist, who wasted his time and stile in relating what he did not know, I shall now introduce a poet to the reader, and by no means a contemptible one, who sacrificed his abilities and knowledge of *Indian* affairs to the perversion of real history. *Juan de Castellanos* spent the best part of his life in singing the various events which had arisen on the continent and islands of

* This passage is extracted from an original letter, which passed through my hands, dated *September 1548*,

the *Western World*, from their discovery. He wrote them first down in prose, and then turned them into verse, under the title of *Elegias y Elogios de Varones ilustres de Indias*. I am in possession of three volumes of this work. Bishop *Fernandez Piedrahita*, made use of the fourth in his History of the New Kingdom of *Granada*. The first volume only was printed in 1589. With respect to the occurrences of his day, *Castellanos* is a writer of important value; he is indebted to others, particularly *Oviedo*, for what he advances with respect to the earlier period eked out by popular traditions and fables, which his fertile imagination embellished, for the purpose of filling up the plan which he had previously sketched out.

Y si, lector, digerdes este comentario,

Como me lo cantaron os lo cuento*.

And if the reader should call it fiction, I tell it to him, as it was told to me.

* *Castellanos P. I, Canto 1. oct. 3.*

A fine apology indeed, for the frequent introduction of fiction! after he had promised

————— decir la verdad pura

Sin tell usar de ficcion ni compastura*.

To relate the pure and unadorned truth without fiction. But true it is, what Plato has long ago observed, that the poet seated on the tripod of the muses, is not under the guidance of sober truth, but utters whatever his glowing imagination suggests, without regard to truth or falsity; and it is still more certain, that poetry should not be indulged in history.

I shall conclude my review of the writers of the sixteenth century, with a few remarks on *Girolamo Benzoni* of Milan, who published a history of the *New World* in *Italian*. This work is well arranged, and interspersed with judicious, sarcastic, and satyrical obser-

* The same P. I. page 55.

vations.

vations. *Urban Calveton*, an *Englishman*, translated it into elegant Latin, with explanatory notes, which rendered it still more valuable. *Theodor de Bey* introduced it afterwards into his celebrated collection, which he adorned with several engravings. *Benzoni* left *America* in 1556. He resided fifteen years in that quarter, in which time he visited several parts of it, which furnished him with frequent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the country. He took the greatest part of his narration from the writers noticed in this introduction, with sufficient fidelity, but not always with due examination, and critical acumen, a number of errors have found their way into the first part of the work.

Thus the infantile history of *America* appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century loaded with infirmities, and unsupported by authentic facts. Many years anterior
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to this, *Philip* the second very prudently issued a wise order to collect all kind of documents, reports, and authentic accounts relative to that region. He was the first who established the office of historiographer of the Indies. *Antonio de Herrera*, was appointed to this situation in the year 1596, with the most liberal indulgence to enable him to discharge a trust of so important a nature. All the necessary materials were placed at his command, namely, all the papers of the Royal Rolls and Archives, the official reports sent to, and brought from the *Indies*, and all the manuscripts which could be found relative to the subject. After which he began to write "*The Universal History of the Transactions of the Castilians in the islands and Continent of the Ocean*;" and published in 1601, four *Decads*, which he had delivered two years before, in manuscript, with applause; four more were printed in 1615. We cannot help admiring the rapidity with which he composed the
former,

former, considering that he outstript in abundance of matter, truth of narration, time, geography and stile, all the historical pens which had hitherto touched on this topic. This praise is justly due to him, and I shall add, that his writings will always be of great use to those who wish to treat on the affairs of India, as many of the documents and books of which he availed himself, are no longer in existence. The faults which *Laet*, *Torquemada*, *Solis*, and some others find with him, are not of sufficient magnitude to eclipse his glory, or extinguish the gratitude of posterity. Certain it is, however, that a man of such extensive information, such a master of the language, and such powers of stile might have obliged the reader with a more finished work. *Herrera* did little more than string the fragments and extracts together, like a man that arranges and digests the narratives collected in every quarter, according to years, months and

Herrera

and days, as preparatory materials for the historian. It is lucky that he was a man of erudition, otherwise, the haste with which he wrote might have proved an inlet to innumerable errors. I wish to speak only at present of those times, of which I intend to treat in my first volume. The *protocoles* and state-papers, however light and insufficient, did not escape his attention, and they afforded him sufficient light, to discover the disorder and confusion of the narratives of *Pietro Martir*, the inattention, credulity, and tales of *Oviedo*, and his copyists and compilers. He followed therefore *Fernando Columbus*, and Bishop *Casas*, in his chronological history, as leaders of more certainty and accurate diligence. But the first historian of the *New World*, that deserve this title, often contents himself with only passages word for word, or extracts from these two. Sometimes he introduces the documents of other authors, as his own
judg-

judgment directs, but on those occasions, if they stumble he stumbles with them, and where they only trip he sometimes falls through giddiness and volatility. His copies and extracts all bear the mark of hurry, and now and then he used to add or omit, without any sufficient reason, as his fancy dictated. I shall give proofs of this in its proper place. The chronicle of *Casas* was his principle source, from which he has taken his chief points, but he has corrected the language, and purged the narration from a thousand absurdities. He almost entirely omits the invectives and violent declamation of the bishop, not with any intent to palliate the conduct of his countrymen which he paints with equal freedom, temperance, and prudence, as the nature of such a work required. We cannot, however, praise him for all his omissions. *Casas* used to wave many probable circumstances, according to his opinion, but his candour
would

would not let him deal out such but as conjectures, therefore he used to say, *I think, I suppose, perhaps*, or similar qualifications. *Herrera* omits these, and gives for certain, what is doubtful. He also relates as matters of fact, what the bishop details as traditions and opinions merely.

Notwithstanding these and other faults, *Herrera* has been considered up to our day, as the principal historian of *America*, and who could dispute the palm with him? Where was the judge that could decide? Those that wrote after him, on the first period especially, have made use of the same writers that he consulted, with less judgment. I cannot name one, who has perused and compared them together with due caution, and methodical diffidence! No, not one, that can be said to have profited by what has been already printed on the subject. Neither, have I found one, who has collected the materials necessary to lay the foundation of
this

this historical field. In their titles they promise an edifice inferior to none; the outside at all times, is splendid without solidity; a fit representation of an historical work, that is not founded on the basis of fact, and incontrovertible proofs. Plain sense rejects all abstract systems, as well in the study of nature, as in that of ethics. Experiments, observations, cool and discerning judgment contemporaneous to truth, are the best guides to conduct enquiry as well into the knowledge of nature, as into that of human society, and its remarkable events. A faithful exhibition of which, for the purpose of forming the human understanding and the heart, is the due office of the historian. And in order to discharge this obligation he ought to employ every means within his grasp, suitable to the purpose.

As to myself, I have spared neither time nor pains, to amass, and digest all the ma-

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terials

terials that could possibly be collected; and to plan, regulate, accomplish and refine my work. As to the contents and the stile, I have endeavoured to conduct my pen according to the precepts of art, and the primary laws of perfect history. As far as I can recollect, I have advanced nothing but obvious truth, and detailed all incidents of importance with the same freedom, and have not attempted to veil any particular from the public view through interested motives. This is the exalted privilege and duty of the historian, in the execution and performance of which he ought not to be deterred by frowns, or led aside by smiles. And he who dares not exercise this privilege, under any improper influence or partiality, ought to renounce that difficult situation immediately, as I would have done, if such had been my case. This freedom however, has its laws, and limits, dictated by prudence, sober judgment, refined taste, a becoming

becoming respect to decency, public good, christian philanthropy, and in a word, by reason and religion. A just and rational frankness, however laudable and indispensibly necessary, should never be permitted to run into licentiousness, invective, or ribaldry. It is highly pernicious and wicked to set a bad example in any species of writings, but still more so in history, of which the great end is to fan the latent sparks of virtue at once by precept and example, so as to abash and discountenance vice. In consequence of these principles, I relate good and bad things, in a manner, which my judgment tells me is the best and most just. Cautious at the same time to drag only into light a certain portion of vice and depravity, such as may be sufficient to render them detested at first view, anxious to avoid the least appearance of delight in the relation of them, lest it should be thought that I indulged a wish that others should take plea-

sure in the perusal of it. I have studied brevity at my own expence, as I have endeavoured to proportion my words to the weight and importance of my matter, and to dispose of every thing in its proper place, in order to avoid repetition: and I have likewise endeavoured to consult such an order and combination, as to facilitate the understanding, and assist the memory. I have scattered such considerations and reflections, as I made myself in the beginning and progress of my labours, with a sparing hand. I have endeavoured to communicate them to the reader, in the mode in which I exhibit the objects, so that the seeds of reflexion being thus strewed throughout the whole field of narration, may easily spring up in the beams of an enlightened and attentive mind.

Having now laid before the reader my exertions and principal views with regard to
this

this work, I have only to add, something relative to the œconomy of it. In the execution of the main body of the undertaking, I have followed, as far as I was able, the example of the ancient classics, namely, the plain narration, divested of quotations, disputations, and combinations, levelled to the capacity of the generality of readers. At the same time, in order to gratify the literati, I shall annex at the end of every government, the reasons upon which the truth of every event is founded, and this in a twofold manner.

The first appendix will be devoted to HISTORICAL PROOFS and ELUCIDATIONS, to evince the certainty of my assertions, together with the just motives which induced me to improve or differ in opinion from writers of credit and celebrity, and to expatiate sometimes more at length on some circumstances beyond the brevity of History, citations,

controversies, and conjectures will be found in this division, and the passages to which they refer, will be noted by appropriate marks. The next division will contain a select *collection* of DOCUMENTS, and ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS. Of these, I shall add either a more or less ample account of their use and contents as may appear necessary, as well as of other papers, which I do not intend to publish, either on account of their bulk or non importance. As to the historians which have appeared in print, I shall speak of them in the preface to each volume, as I have done in the present. I don't intend, however, to include all, as that would be an insurmountable task but those only remarkable for their antiquity, or real or pretended merit. USEFUL ORNAMENTS will be also added, of which I intend to say a few words at the time of their appearance.

I have

I have prefixed the head of *Columbus*, the discoverer, to this volume, faithfully engraved with much accuracy. Amongst many paintings and engravings, said to be so many likenesses, I could only discover one, which deserves the name, viz. that which is preserved in the collection of the duke of *Berwick*, and *Livia*, a descendant of our hero. A whole length figure probably drawn in the last century by an indifferent copyist, but in which the masterly touches of *Antonio del Rincon*, a celebrated painter of our court may be traced. The characteristic features of the Admiral, as drawn by his son *Fernando Columbus*, have enabled us to select the most striking portrait, and to amend the faults, perceptible in some lines, which were either mistaken by the artist, or obliterated by time. I have also added a map at the end, of the isle of *Espanola*, with the civil and provincial divisions of the

country at the time of the first discovery and colonization of it, with the names imposed by the first discoverers and colonists. Similar maps of the ancient state of *Espanola*, were published in the sixteenth century by *Ramusio* and his copyist *Porcachi*, and in our age by *D'Anville* and *Bellin**. These geographers were conducted by the weak lights, which the printed works of *Martir*, *Oviedo*, and bishop *Bartholomew de las Casas* afforded. The present one, is delineated after an accurate description, which the same prelate gave of the said island in the first nine chapters of his *Apologetica Historia*,

* *Ramusio*, in his Collection T. 3, at the end of the extract of *P. Martir*, of which *Porcachi* made use in his work, entitled, “ L'Isole piu famose del mondo.” *D'Anville* prepared the map, which *Charlevoix* has introduced in his history of *Espanola*, lib. 1. *Bellin* afterwards copied that which is met with in the “ *Universal History of Voyages*,” T. 12, p. 19, edit. Paris, 4to.

a voluminous manuscript, in which he displayed all the stores of his knowledge, which he had acquired by reading and travels through the *Indies*.

Finally, I intreat communities and individuals, who may possess any documents, information, or manuscripts relative to the Indies, to be so kind as to communicate them to me, out of public regard. Those that have, or may contribute any important papers, shall be gratefully mentioned in due place, as a public acknowledgment of my obligation to them.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
NEW WORLD.

BOOK I.

I. **T**HAT part of the globe which was discovered by the *Spaniards*, in the time of the first Catholic Kings*, was called by our ancestors the *New World*, a name founded in more propriety than that of the ancients, who called the small part of the then known world, the *Whole World*. Geo-

* Our author in more places than one of this work, calls the first period of the *Spanish* discoveries, the *Epoch of the Catholic Kings*, because *Ferdinand* the fifth, and his consort *Isabella* received this title from the *Pope* in 1495, on account of their persecution of the *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and *Hereticks*. T. N.

graphy,

graphy, in fact, was very much limited, till the period of Roman greatness, and even during the splendour of that empire, it did not extend beyond the eighth part of the terraqueous globe. Of the three principal parts into which the ancient continent was divided, the entire bounds of the smallest were far from being known. The most extensive countries, which occupy, perhaps, the half of *Asia* and *Africa*, were either entirely unknown, or rather darkened than elucidated by the most uncertain or imperfect narrations. A thousand years rolled away, since the northern barbarous nations overturned the Roman power, and in all that time, it does not appear that geographic studies made any progress. Greenland was not discovered till the ninth century, and in the eleventh, the *Crusades* furnished more ample and certain knowledge of the southern and western parts of *Asia*. In consequence of this, a desire of travelling into remote and unknown climes arose, a passion which was still more indulged in the twelfth century by *Benjamin Ben Jonah*, a *Spanish Jew*, a native of *Tudela* in *Navarra*, author of a remarkable
book

book of travels*. Several others afterwards set out on travels of discovery in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, amongst whom *Marco Polo*, a *Venetian*, and *John Mandeville*, an *Englishman*, should hold a conspicuous place. No great progress, however, could be expected till the spirit of discovering new countries influenced some enterprising prince by the means of navigation.

* The passion for travelling, or knowledge of distant countries, does not appear to have been much excited by the travels of *Benjamin Ben Jonah*, which was originally written in *Hebrew*, (1160) a language very little known at the time by the *Christians*, it was merely calculated to render his religious brethren attentive to the number and situation of each other scattered over the face of the earth, under their several sovereigns. Besides, he did not visit all the countries which he mentions, which an attentive reader will easily discover, but he frequently quotes the sources of his information. His work in general is full of fables and errors, so that he scarcely deserves the honour of the labours, which some modern interpreters have spent upon it. There is not the least proof that it was read or used in the middle ages.

T. N.

II. The

II. This field was opened by the kings of *Castile* in the beginning of the fifteenth century, as they supported the conquests and settlements of the *Europeans* in the *Canary* islands, which had previously been visited by several *French* and *Spanish* navigators. Thence the bold navigations into the *Atlantic* ocean, remote from the continent, the suppositions of new islands towards the *west*, the traffic with the barbarous nations of *Africa*, who exchanged fruit or precious metals for trifles, which were in no estimation with us. Hence arose the distinguished splendour of the town of *Seville*, the chief market for slaves, and wares of *Africa* and her islands, and the extraordinary zeal for nautical adventure on the coast of *Andalusia*. The *Portuguese*, emulous of the glory of their neighbours, entered into the same career, which they prosecuted with vigour and perseverance; insomuch, that in a short time after they eclipsed the undertakings of their precursors by improving the naval science, and extending their maritime trade in an astonishing manner. Such is the influence and power of the patronage of an exalted person,

who

who loves to cherish and promote the arts, sciences, and public good, and to devote his time and endeavours to the advancement of the real honour, and true advantage of his country. *Portugal* obtained both of these through the mediation of the immortal infant *Don Henry*, by which an inconsiderable monarchy in the course of a century rose to be the admiration of all Europe, the terror of *Africa*, and the Indies, and her metropolis the rich emporium of commerce.

Notwithstanding, the successful voyages of *Portugal* contributed very much to the richness of the crown, the propagation of christianity, and the diffusion of human knowledge, yet their navigation was confined to the seas, and coasts of the old world, of which the *Europeans* had already some faint knowledge, except what related to the southern part of *Africa*, of which it seems they were entirely ignorant*, when it was resolved

to

* The opinion, that the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the Southern Navigation about *Africa* were unknown to *Europeans* to the year 1486, seems to be founded in fact.

This

to sail in that direction to the ports and seas
of the *Indies*, and to the *Spice Islands*, in
hopes

This opinion, has been combated by the learned *Italians*, and those who adopted it in modern times, with little or no success. Those writers appeal to two old maps which are to be seen at present in *Venice*, and which are said to exhibit the navigation round *Africa*, and some traces of countries to the west. The oldest of those maps, according to the superscription, appears to have been delineated in 1436 by *Andreas de Bianco*, and is deposited in *Saint Mark's Library*. The other is to be found in the Monastery of the *Calmandulenses*. There is a difference of opinion as to the name of the author, and the year in which this last was drawn, whether in 1455 or 1471. *Bianco's Atlas* consists of ten maps, and *Farmalioni*, not content with a mere elucidation of it in a work entitled "*Saggio sulla nautica Antica de Veneziani, Venez* 1783, has also given several specimens to enable the reader to form a judgment of *Bianco's* geographic knowledge, whose notion of the south of *Africa* was founded on the general map of the three parts of the world then known, which are not drawn according to their real situations, but according to the ideas he had formed of them, in consequence of the lights and shades of information. On this account, we find countries misplaced, and kingdoms localized that never existed. Truth and fable blendid together, and the omissions of real geographic
accounts

hopes to seize, and carry on directly and exclusively that immense branch of trade,
which

accounts, filled up with the figures of thrones, tents, ships, and monsters. The immortal Butler had such geographers in his eye, when he composed that well known couplet,

“ And o’er unhabitable downs
“ Place elephants instead of towns.”

Africa from west to east is equal in extent to *Europe* and *Asia* together. *Bianco* places countries that belong to *Africa* in *Asia*. In short, his map may be compared to *Sanudo’s* delineation of the earth in *Bongar’s* collection of the writers of the *Crusades*, a mere idea of the geography of his time. As his opinion was, that all the known parts of the globe were surrounded with water, the result was, that according to his own system he was obliged to represent *Africa* in that situation, but it does not appear that he had the least conception of the southern shape of this part of the world. A bay of a semicircular form terminates the south of that quarter, which his imaginations has filled with dragons, and negroes with dogs heads. It is therefore impossible, after a survey of this map, to admit the author of it as a witness in favour of those who assert, that *Europe* in his day was acquainted with those parts of the universe. His authority becomes the more doubtful, and the supposition of later

which had hitherto enriched so many nations and states one after the other, though it was carried on by a thousand circuitous ways.

III. Another enterprize still remained worthy of a genius of the first class, and of intrepid courage. From the notions that were entertained of the eastern parts of *Asia*, it was supposed that they were at an immense distance from the coasts and known islands of *Europe* and *Africa*. That such an

additions the more probable, as he delineates the *azores* much earlier than they were discovered. The second map, which has been quoted still oftener in support of this opinion, is less known. *Graziosus Bennincafa* is said to be the author by some, others, on the contrary ascribe it to Friar *Maurus*; no one, however, has given an exact description of this map, and its object. *Ramusio* gave the first account of it. *Bennincafa* after him has chiefly made use of *Marco Polo* in preparing it, and others have added supplements of their own age. *Ramusio* says, that according to this map the ocean, it is true, surrounds *Africa*, but without any particular representation of the real situation and shape of that continent, or a more exact knowledge of those regions, which were traversed at a later period by the *Portuguese*. See vol. della navigationi e Viaggi da Bart. *Ramusio* p. 17.

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exten-

extensive space might contain large countries, filled with mighty nations and states, was of course a conjecture that naturally followed. What an object of wise and laudable curiosity! Even supposing the distance between *Europe*, the western *Africa*, and the entrance of *Asia* was less than it had hitherto been supposed, or that the interval was only filled by the ocean, in how much shorter and more convenient a way might the trade to the *Indies* be carried on by the western course! These reflections incessantly occupied the mind of the illustrious *Genoese Christ. Columbus*. Well acquainted with all the arts and sciences, which contribute to the improvement and perfection of navigation, stored with sufficient knowledge of all the known seas, which he had acquired by experience, in correspondence with the philosophers of all countries, acquainted with all the books extant at the time on the subjects of philosophy, history, and cosmography, he raised his idea above the standard of his day, and consequently experienced all the opposition, contradiction and difficulties, which are usually enlisted against

those, who dare to step aside from the beaten track. Happy for mankind that *Columbus* united greatness of mind, and perseverance with an enlarged understanding, which enabled him, through time and patience, to prevail on a powerful and prosperous prince to protect and patronize his bold undertaking, so that he exhibited to the wondering world, such a spectacle, as all the collective ages of antiquity could not boast. The judicious navigator, far superior to the renowned leader of the Greek *Argonautes*, boldly stretches his adventurous wing beyond the limits of ancient navigation. The swelling ocean appears twice as large as common opinion represented it, and lo, a new world is disclosed in its bosom ! as I may call it with *Seneca*, whose prophecy other *Columbuses* have accomplished to the full.

IV. At length this globe appears mostly covered with water, and in this immense liquid field the countries, which encompass the north-pole, are sown, and descend to the middle of the southern hemisphere, which is divided into two chief parts. That part, which
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contains the Old World, is seated on one hemisphere which begins at the Canary islands, and runs towards the east, far extended in all directions over the equator, and ends under the 35th and 44th degree in two peninsulas, one formed by the continent of *Africa*, and the other by the southern islands of *Asia*. On the opposite hemisphere; the second part stretches itself from the *Canaries* towards the west, and includes the *New World*, not very distinctly separated from the *Old*, and in length towards the north pole somewhat less extended. From thence it becomes narrower on both sides till it forms a narrow isthmus near the equator, where it becomes again more wide, and soon extends to 45 degrees of longitude. It becomes narrower again, and ends in the south in a point under the 56th degree nearly. The great extent of that part of the *New World* called *America*, the immense oceans which surround it, from the islands of *Africa* to the *Archipelago* of *Asia*, the entire remaining part of the southern hemisphere, as far as it is navigable, the innumerable islands scattered near *America*, and the *Pacific* ocean.

These are the western discoveries of the *Spaniards*. This is the *New World*, worthy of the name, not only on account of its being unknown to the ancients, but even for the new things which it affords and produces in physics and morals.

V. In consequence of these discoveries, the southern part of our globe was circumnavigated, and its true form brought to light, together with a knowledge of its principal parts and products, and what was still greater, the sphere of our ideas was enlarged. This small speck of earth called the habitable world, and which claimed so many pretended prerogatives, found in every part that was discovered, the same nature in all that *uniform* variety that marks and embellishes her character. The suppositious limits of water, cold, and heat with which it was insulated, vanished. The free and uninterrupted intercourse with all countries, the navigation of all seas being rendered safe and familiar, elicited general observations and experiments, and furnished the means of correcting innumerable errors, to which
fancy

fancy and forward judgment had given birth, on the mere reliance of insufficient analogy. New countries, new and very different temperaments of season in the same climate, continual spring in one, that had been thought very changeable, snow in the torrid zone, and living creatures in all. Such phenomena excited the general admiration, as well as the attention of the philosophers, who from being rendered cautious by experience, rectified their judgments and decisions. The continent of *America*, as the principal part of the new discovered world, was from the beginning more attended to than the rest, and has exhibited greater, and more remarkable varieties than the countries known at the time of that discovery. It extends to the north, hitherto inaccessible to observation to the 80th degree, or thereabouts. It runs southward about 2700 leagues beyond the equator. It seems that the waters, from their natural motion towards the west, endeavour to divide it, and they have already separated from the continent that tract of the *Archipelago* between *Florida* and the mouth of the *Oronokoo*, as it is pro-

bable at a former period they swallowed up in the same manner a still greater tract in the Asiatic *Archipelago*, and so have separated *New Holland*. But this separation in *America* might have been prevented by the large chain of mountains, which unites the north and the south. There is not such another chain on the face of the earth, and the effects which it produces are full as singular.

The extension and depth of the marshy soils is very considerable. Rivers of the greatest magnitude are fed by lakes and cataracts, such as the river Saint *Laurence*, *Mississippi*, *Oronokoo*, *Maragnon*, *La Plata*, with which even the largest rivers of the old world are not to be compared. The sandy wastes, the barren deserts, the verdant, fertile, and picturesque grounds of the new world bear the same proportion to those of the old. Here nature sports in all her vigour and fancy. The soil is covered with immense and impenetrable forests, lofty cedars of astonishing size and shade. Here she appears in all the opulence, and wanton wilds of an enchantress, then as if fatigued,
and

and lastly as if impoverished, if we may judge from barren tracts, and cheerless deserts, which can scarce produce the pointed thorn, or the little sickly shrub.

VI. The concurrence of these causes, and the situation of the climates with respect to the heavens, and the sea, give birth to other diversities not less astonishing, intense cold on the summit of gentle eminences, predominant humidity, noxious and unwholesome airs, some winds which ordinarily temper the burning beams of the vertic sun, and others which constantly encrease the natural cold towards the poles. Tornados that in an instant mingle sandy mountains, plants, animals, building together, or scatter them in the air. Seasons only distinguished by rain or dry weather. Rains which fall incessantly in one country, very rarely in another, and in some not at all. No less marvellous are the riches buried in the bowels of the earth. The variety of rare plants, which cover the surface of the earth in the greatest profusion. The degeneracy of the vegetable race, transplanted from other climes,

the

the diversity in the taste, colour, and size of their fruits. It is true, the *New World* cannot boast of the large quadrupeds of the *Old*, but in compensation the number of insects and reptiles are infinite. Many of their classes, of prodigious magnitude, a thousand other species of animals, quite new and extremely different, are to be seen. The same difference and variety pervades the winged creation.

VII. The variety, however, which marks the human race is still more wonderful. The new world has represented in the different races of her inhabitants, so many rounds of a lofty ladder, the extremes of which are marked by the *white* and the *black* of the old world. Another ladder still longer, might be formed from the different degrees of barbarity in which they were found, from the line that separates the savage man from the beast, to the semblance of an orderly civilized society. Reason pressed down, the laws of nature enveloped in darkness, the grossest idolatry every where predominant, savage brutality triumphant, the

the most unnatural vices prevalent, learning and science entirely unknown. A vast number of arts, how strange ! some of them still in their infancy, and only learned by imitation, but not so much as a single one taught, studied, or improved on principles. Even agriculture, the first of all arts, when brought to what they considered its highest degree of perfection, scarce deserved that name, and how could it have made a greater progress, without the assistance of cattle, and a knowledge of iron ? The most finished and splendid works, which the luxury and magnificence of their half-clad princes and nobles could boast, in the most cultivated parts of America, were the efforts of mechanism and patience, and after all were not much superior to the ordinary productions of the little wants and conveniencies of the lower class of the frequently naked inhabitants. These barbarians, content with their natural state of misery, scarce ever permitted their wishes to roam after foreign conveniencies, or to imitate them. Thus every family, tribe, or nation, confined themselves within the district in which they lived,

lived, absorbed in ignorance, the most torpid indolence, and laziness. Each had its own language, peculiar customs, idols, and superstition. It is true that some of the natives of *Brasil*, *Terra firma*, the interior provinces of *North America*, and particularly those of *New Spain* and *Peru*, emerged at different times from such miserable situations, and were distinguished by more general and copious language, but it does not appear that any of them ever attained to a sufficient number of general and abstract ideas, or scarce ever tasted the blessings of a tranquil government, so as to rise from that depth of obscurity to the light of true knowledge. Cut off from every intercourse and acquaintance with enlightened nations, they even forgot the first traditions of human kind. The remembrance of the deluge it seems was the only event propagated, and preserved among the people of the New World, though interpolated and wrapped up in fable, as it was amongst several civilized nations of the ancient world. But neither this, nor many other opinions and customs, by means of which sagacity and learning have united
their

their efforts in pursuit of the origin of the Americans, are sufficient to satisfy reason.

The human race sprung from one stock, the deluge destroyed it entirely, except the family of *Noah*; imbibed with sufficient knowledge, they handed down the arts and traditions to posterity, which they had received from their ancestors. How comes it then that one branch of this family should entirely forget its origin, and preserve nothing of these arts; not even entrusted with the use of iron, and other materials of the first necessity, and that it should sink at last into the utmost stupidity, in which almost all the *American*, and the inhabitants of the *South Sea* were found?

VIII. Amongst so many unanswerable questions which the population of such countries occasions, separated from these, where the human kind began a second time, and inaccessible to the ancient navigation, the prodigious difference between the man of both worlds, is undoubtedly a matter of the utmost difficulty. Our continent, at
several

several times, has been over-ran with barbarians, as well as several other countries, but none so void of sense and feeling, so puerile, and so far below the dignity of man, as the inhabitants of the West Indies, who were unable to enter into society with any civilized people. As to the uncivilized natives of the Old World, on the contrary, their reason was never sunk so low, the seeds of good principles were never so entirely stifled, nay, some of them were so much improved, that by tractability and example, they arrived, by degrees, to a certain moral equality.

The monuments which ancient times have left us, and the accurate observation of man, afford a convincing proof of the exceedingly slow growth of arts and sciences, and how rapid they languish or perish entirely. What are the grounds of pretension in several nations to the invention of letters, to the art of forging and melting iron, but that these and other arts, which most probably were known in the days of *Adam*, and communicated by *Noah* to
his

his children, sunk again into oblivion amongst their posterity, in consequence of their separation from each other, and their attention and strength employed in fighting with wild beasts, or in cultivating the rude countries in which they settled. The result naturally must have been, that they never enjoyed any repose, and were of course entire strangers to those appetites which excite diligence, sagacity and genius, hence the ignorance, corruption, and brutish stupidity of the human kind!

After the human race had spread itself to the remotest north of *Europe*, and to the utmost east of *Asia*, where at this time the old and new worlds are separated by a narrow streight or series of islands situated near each other, one part of the nations, probably the most savage and ignorant, wandered to America, and accident might have brought them afterwards to the islands of the *South Sea*. The greater the distance, and the difficulties, they had to encounter in emigrating and settling themselves, they served in proportion to lengthen the period of rude life and savage manners, and doubtless many centuries after the deluge passed

passed away, before these wandering hords formed their first kingdoms or republics. They remained to the close of the fifteenth century separated from the rest of mankind. And after many incidents, having experienced other deluges perhaps, bloody incessant wars, and other fatalities incident to the human race, they arrived to that state in which they were discovered. The degrees and conditions they passed through, the successive establishments and destruction of their kingdoms or republics, their emigrations, and other accidents common in society, have sunk into profound oblivion, or at least have become confused and corrupted. All that has survived the wreck of time, are a few buildings of antiquity, a few faint shades of more prominent events, mixed with traditions and fables, full of ambiguity and confusion.

Latter ages have shed more lights, which may be followed with greater certainty, the *Quibos* or *strings* with *knots* in *Peru*, the hieroglyphic paintings of *Mexico*, the songs and more modern traditions of both empires,
their

their constitutions, acts, religion, policy, habits, and customs; these are the most leading documents and proofs of the highest degree of their culture and learning: and all these are so many proofs of the feeble progress which reason had made in the course of so long a series of centuries in that part of the globe, through the deprivation of that useful light, which never failed to shine in a greater or less degree from the beginning in the *Old World*.

IX. In the native seat of the first race of man, a branch of it, which we may call the species preferred, loved, and chosen by God, preserved the memory of its origin, the knowledge of its Creator, the practice of the nature of law, and some primitive arts. Those that settled themselves near that centre, shared the light which flowed from it. Wherefore several nations of *Asia*, and their *Egyptian* neighbours, dispute the palm of the most useful inventions. Doubtless, they made use of the art of writing; propagated it, and laid the foundation of literature.

As the sun of science moved towards the west, it enlightened the coasts of *Africa*, from *Egypt* to the Streight, and the opposite coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and shed its brightest beams over *Greece*, where Science fixed her favourite seat; there *Europe*, last of all, lighted her taper at that refulgent lamp; and in process of time became the preserver of science, the *alma mater* of arts, and the universal mistress of instruction. Here the most powerful empire was erected that the world ever saw, and the center of true religion was established in the metropolis; the divine author of which came down to raise human reason to the last degree of perfection, by enlightening it with the mild torch of the gospel. The mind illumined with the beams which flowed from its divine source, mariners set out from the utmost extremity of *Europe* on the discovery of unknown regions, and having found a NEW WORLD, and one-half of the human race buried in the thickest clouds of ignorance and degeneracy; the whole earth began to be moved, and to change countenance, and scarce one part was left that did not experience considerable alterations

tions in consequence of this admirable discovery.

X. The *New World*, at that period rude and uncultivated, assumes a new surface; immense woods fall beneath the axe, marshy tracts are drained, and put on a verdant dress; agriculture is introduced with instruments unknown to that day, as well as the aid of animals. The natural fruits melt with more agreeable sweetness; tillage is proportioned to the wants and convenience of civil life; bread, wine, and other *European* plants and feeds, are cultivated, and the ungrateful waste, and sterile soil, repays the toil of the tiller with abundance; and beautiful variety, mutual communication, and intercourse of all countries, hitherto unknown, is opened; and in order to render it more wide and convenient, woods, marshy grounds, rivers, abysses, and other impediments are removed: bridges and paved ways are raised and formed. In the room of miserable thatched huts, and shabby villages, composed of straggling cottages, without symmetry or order, magnificent edifices, po-

pulous towns and villages grace every quarter, which, with respect to regularity, taste, beauty, and convenience, vie with the most eminent in *Europe*. The natives, who had slumbered for ages in sloth and ignorance, are amazed, can scarce believe their eyes, and look upon their fellow-creatures as beings of a superior order. It is with difficulty that they persuade themselves to yield to the light. Every day increases the number of colonists, and swells the reflux of *European* nations, who, masters of the continent and the islands, introduce their religion, government, arts, and customs. The natives partly retire into the interior countries, where, even at this day, many of them live in all their old barbarity, as they remain unknown, or have not been conquered. Others withdrew from necessity, either conscious of their imbecility or subdued in battle. Through an obstinate resistance, and the severity of the victor, most of them, however, were destroyed. The same fate attended another large body, who perished through grief in the bonds of slavery, overcome by insupportable toils, or victims to the plague or other contagious distempers.

tempers. Thus these natives, who were not very numerous, in proportion to the large extent of country which they inhabited, dwindled in a short time to a little number; and even those, unable to surmount the immense distance between their inferiority and the superiority of their conquerors, have continued mostly miserable and despised; though some, who embraced the Christian religion, and learned certain arts and employments, have gained considerable advantages, as peaceable and quiet subjects to an enlightened government. The *New World* has acquired other and not inferior acquisitions. The increase of the nobler European stock of men in these countries; the innumerable shoal of *Africans* imported thither, to supply the suppression and decrease of the natives; the mixture of the different races which have arose in the *New World*; these species of men supply in a plentiful manner, if not in number, at least in intrinsic value, the depopulation of the original inhabitants, who became scarce in certain islands and provinces, or who have been totally extinguished.

XI. The extraordinary effects which these singular alterations in that part of the *New World* have produced in civilized *Europe*, offer somewhat of better appearance. The metals, pearls, and gems, which were found in the hands of the barbarous natives of *America*, were evident proofs of the incalculable treasures which that country concealed; its extent through all climates excited the flattering hopes of finding in that quarter all the productions and fruits of all the countries of the whole ancient world, especially the drugs and spices of the East. The most favourable prospects presented themselves for trade; happily, the experiments that were made answered, and in some articles excelled expectation. The gain acquired by the first adventurers excited the avarice of a number of others. The thirst of gold inflamed States, as well as individuals, with similar zeal and impatience; the spirit of observation and speculation possessed them all, and called forth every expedient calculated to gratify their views.

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The seas, hitherto solitary, began to be covered with numerous fleets of merchantmen, and vessels of war. The dread and fear of diseases, shipwrecks, and even of death itself, disappeared; an incredible number of wretches, with pallid looks, spun out a miserable existence in mines formed by their own hands, to allay the thirst which those metals, hid in the bowels of the new earth, had excited. These metals are imported into the old World; the cash increases in circulation and store; the prices of commodities advance; and even ideas and opinions take a higher flight. The *mania* of making new discoveries, remote colonies, splendid conquests, extraordinary commercial transactions, as so many new ways of acquiring honour and glory, expands, and seizes on almost every mind—an enthusiasm that employed every species of ingenuity, to make use of all the productions which the New World offered at the epoch of its discovery, and extremely fruitful in its consequences.

XII. If this great movement had not taken place, it is probable the invention of the art

of Printing, the arrival of the Greek refugees from *Constantinople*, the astronomical labours of *Peurbach* and *Regiomontanus*, although new at that time, would have been as flow and limited in their consequences, as in the earlier ages the useful part of Arabian literature, the taste of *Petrarch* and *Dante*, the invention of gunpowder, artillery, and the magnet were; and perhaps the feudal anarchy would have continued, in spite of the monarchs who endeavoured to maintain their authority. But the knowledge of the whole globe, the observation and intercourse with all its inhabitants, the extension of trade, excited, in a great degree, a disgust of jejune sophistry, and idle subtilties, and turned the minds of men to the more important study of nature, that displayed herself with so much luxury and variety in the *New World*. From the days of the immortal *Columbus*, to those of the unparalleled *Cooke*, geography, natural history, and all experimental sciences have made a greater progress, than they did from their origin in the remotest antiquity. The human understanding seems to have acquired new powers, to treasure up all the know-
ledge

ledge of our ancestors, to derive all possible advantage from their inventions, and to discover new countries in the world of ideas. The universal arithmetics, the higher geometry, the nautical art, civil economy, chymistry, and several other sciences, either have been created anew, or have attained their true economy and elevation.

XIII. The bold voyages, the great commercial enterprises, the immense quantity of metals, have transformed the naval and military system, altered the political interest, and cast even the moral system in a new mould.

The little fragments into which the Roman empire was broken, by the successive and successful attacks of the northern Barbarians, cemented by degrees again, and at the end of the fifteenth century they formed considerable monarchies. The mines of *America*, and the maritime trade, afford the means of prodigious naval and military preparations, and open inexhaustible resources. The apprehension of greater destruction produces moderation; and
when

when the destructive arms on both sides have been carried to their highest point, the effects subside in proportion to the increase of mutual preparations. The war is less cruel, the policy more attentive, but at the same time more candid and ingenuous; rage and rashness yield to reason and dispassionate discussion throughout the whole. The most powerful monarchs maintain their rights, stop, or prevent injuries or encroachments on the inferior powers, acquire authority to mediate and accommodate contests, and thus, by degrees, the balancing system forms itself, by which all *Europe*, in a certain degree, is moulded into one society, that is ruled according to the law of nations. In proportion as this body, composed of so many states, gained strength and firmness, the arrogance of the *Ottoman* Empire was tamed, which, possessed of so many extensive countries in the three parts of the old world, and inflated with insolence by so many conquests, seemed to aim at universal domination; and since the destruction of the christian empire in the *East*, to have intended the extirpation of christianity, which spread abroad, and soon acquired

acquired the dominion of immense countries; and not only stopped the course, and broke the towering insolence of that monster, but also strengthened itself in an invincible manner, in the union of science, wealth and power. By degrees, this amiable religion has diffused its light every where, and has introduced its laws with rapid velocity. Those people that were at the greatest distance from humanity, in *America*, as in other parts of the world, opened their eyes, and began to listen to the voice of reason. And it is to be hoped, that this humanity, this gentleness of morality, which made such progress in less than three centuries, since the two great parts of the world became known, which divided mankind with such inequality of fortune, will in a short time occupy the whole circuit of the earth, and will form a political body, which will be still more closely united by the ties of love and concord.

XIV. Such are the flattering hopes which the progress of the navigation, the extension of commerce, and the colonies attached to *Europe* afford. A small peninsula, situated
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at the extreme end of our part of the world, laid the foundation of the great work, and carried it to an astonishing height in the short period of two governments. The conquests and settlements of the *Spaniards* in *Africa* and its islands, were the first steps. About half a century later men of observation marked the astonishing enterprize, which was reserved for the glory of the *Portuguese* to exhibit, by sailing round the *Cape of Good Hope*; the result of which was the discovery of all the unknown coasts of *Africa*, and a good many of those of *Asia*. But admiration was swallowed up in astonishment when the thinking world saw the western discoveries of the *Castilians*. This valiant nation, enured by the fatigues and hardships of perpetual wars, accustomed to fight with the ideas of honour, victory, the cause of heaven, and the assistance of God, delivered from internal enemies, and conscious of having tamed the insolence of her neighbours, found a theatre worthy of those sublime ideas in the *New World*; in the defiance of intervening seas, unhealthy seasons in various climates, hunger and mortality,

established

established the *Spanish* domination, and planted the victorious standard of the crucifix in a country of almost boundless extent.

Courage, genius, religion, enthusiasm, and every thing conspired to crown the most difficult undertaking with success. A number of barbarous nations, one after the other, yield to the arms, to the fame of her victories, and the persuasion of Spain. The spoils of conquest, the delicious fruits of the land, and extensive commerce, raised her to a height of power, glory, and magnitude, scarce to be equalled by any single power. Crushed by her own weight, fatigued and exhausted by long exertions, lulled into repose, and enervated in the sun-shine of fortune and abundance, she was necessitated to give up many parts of those immense possessions, which she could neither defend nor govern with security and propriety, so that other *European* powers share these countries amongst themselves, and cultivate them with success and diligence. Rivalship, competition, industry,
and

and commerce, daily encrease, so that the *New World* now becomes the chief object of the *Old*.

XV. The ways and means by which *Spain* brought about such great alterations in both hemispheres, will be the object of my history. I shall ground it on the entire stock of documents which I have been able to collect in archives and libraries. Nor have I spared any diligence and trouble in the pursuit, and attentive examination of every article in order to ascertain the truth. This is the chief law that I am resolved to be guided by, in every article that may serve either for instruction or example, neither concealing, corrupting, or interpolating any.

 BOOK II.

I. IT was as it were by chance, that a faint light shone forth from the barbarous ages, which guided the mariner through the immense trackless deep, in the bosom of which the extensive countries of the *New World* long lay concealed. From an interpolation made by the *Arabs* in the book, on stones, ascribed to *Aristotle*, it is evident that the philosophers of that nation were acquainted with the singular quality of the magnet, which, when put into a situation in which it can freely move round, will turn one of its ends always to the north. This stone excited the admiration of many, for several ages past, from its virtue of attracting iron, and the new discovery furnished additional opportunities for experiments. Metal was rubbed to the load stone, either by chance or design, and it was found that it imbibed both qualities. Hence it was easy to conclude, that an iron needle, rubbed by the magnet, and put in *equilibrio*, so as to move
about

about without constraint, would always point to the north with one end, and to the south with the other, and thus directed the navigator on the watry way with certainty. It appears from authentic testimonies, that so early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, mariners made use of this invention, which was improved from time to time, insomuch that towards the end of the same century, the mariner's compass, of such immense use, was brought to the utmost perfection*.

Previous

* With respect to the properties of the magnet, father Kircher endeavours to prove, that its attraction was known to the Hebrews; and from Plutarch it seems to appear, that the Egyptians were not ignorant of it. Pythagoras, Ptolemy, Hippocrates, Empedocles, Democritus, Leucippus, Epicurus, and many more of the ancients, knew and admired this wonderful property of the magnet. It was on account of this quality that Thales and Anaxagoras gave it a soul; and Plato, who called it the stone of Hercules, said, that the cause of its attraction was divine. Also Aristotle, Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Galen, and others amongst the ancients, have made particular mention of it.

The

II. Anterior to this period, there was no security in navigation; as soon as the known shores

The discovery of the verticity or directive property of the magnet or loadstone, and the communication of that verticity to iron, or, in other words, the invention of the mariner's compass, though only a consequence of the former property, appears to be but of a modern date. It is indeed pretended, that the eastern nations were well acquainted with this property of the magnet, long before the Europeans had learned any thing about it. Some say that Solomon knew the use of the compass, and that thereby he was enabled to send his mariners to Peru, which was then called Parvaim and Ophir. [See *Pineda de rebus Solomonis*. L. iv. c. 15.] Other authors affirm, that the Chinese, about that time, or even earlier than the days of Solomon, were acquainted with this most useful quality of the magnet. This, however, has been much doubted. [See *Du Hald's History of China*, and the learned *Renaudot's Dissertation on the Chinese Sciences*, &c.]

Flavius Blond affirms, that in or about the year 1302, one *John Goia*, a noble citizen of *Amalphi*, a town of *Principato*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, first discovered the mariner's compass; and for this he quotes the following verse from *Antony of Palermo*, recorded by the *Neapolitan historians*; viz.

Primo dedit nautis usum magnetis Amalphi.

shores were out of sight, the pole-star, the rising and the setting sun, were the ancient seaman's

The arms of the territory of Principato has, it seems, ever since been a mariner's compass. It has also with equal confidence been asserted, that Marco Paulo, the Venetian, learned the use of the mariner's compass from the Chinese; and that he first made it known in Italy about the year 1260. But this cannot be true; for M. Paulo did not set out on his journey to China before the year 1269, nor did he return before the year 1295. [See Purchase's Pilgrim, vol. III.] It seems, however, from the documents which will be adduced in the sequel, that the directive property of the magnet, and the communication of that property to iron, was known in Europe before this time; though to all probability it was not used in navigation till some time after; which may very reasonably be attributed to the clumsy way of suspending the magnetic needle, which was at first used. [The assertion of Dr. Wallis seems to be well founded; viz. that the magnetic needle, or compass, was brought to perfection by gradual steps and partial improvements, and that of these the English may claim considerable share.]

In the works of Claude Fauchet, entitled, *Recueil de l'origine de la Langue et Poésie François*, fol. 555, there is a quotation from an old French poem, called *la Bible Guiot*, in which the mariner's compass is evidently mentioned. This same passage is likewise quoted by Muschenbrock,

seaman's only leaders, which could only be observed at fixed hours, and invisible for many days, if the sky should be overcast. Thus the navigations of the celebrated *Phœnician*, *Carthaginian*, *Greek* and *Roman* mariners, in the remoter days; of the *Arabs*, *Venetians*, *Pisanese*, and *Genoesè* in the middle age. All these voyages were made with danger and tardiness, along the coasts. They scarce ever ventured out of sight of one coast till the other appeared, or at least known to be near by some marks. The only navigation out of the common track among the ancients, was, the voyage through the

chenbrock, in his *Dissertatio de Magnete*. The singularity of this passage having excited my curiosity, I made some enquiry after the above-mentioned old poem, in consequence of which, I found that there was a curious and interesting quarto manuscript of the 13th century, on vellum, in what was then justly called the Royal Library at Paris. The first article in this manuscript book, which was never published, is *la Bible Guiot*; the author of which, viz. *Guiot de Provins*, as mentioned in the poem itself, was at the court of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, held at Mentz in the year 1181, when the emperor's two sons were knighted. [See Chron. Abbot. Ursperg. p. 311.] *Lorimer on Magnetism*, p. 6.

large gulph, between the *Red Sea*, and the western coasts of *Decan*, which, by some, are called the *Malabàrian*, on account of their chief production, peper. But the *monsoon* or trade wind, supplied the want of continent. These winds are known to blow for some months in the year, from East to West, and in some others from the opposite side. As the vessels were driven by an invariable wind, they could almost without any nautical skill, sail through the large Bay, the harbours and coasts of which were already known and examined. The ancients never ventured on any seas, till they had previously examined the countries that bounded them. The sphere of their ideas in this respect, was too limited to indulge any plan of exploring new islands, or large countries, at any considerable distance from those that were already known to them. A tempest, an unexpected accident, or bold adventure, might lead to a new discovery, but these accidents generally passed away, without any influence on the progress of geographic knowledge. Since those that were cast away on unknown shores, either

either remained on them during their lives, unable to leave any marks behind them of their having been there; or if any had the good fortune to return to their native country, they were generally in such a wretched state, that there was neither light, nor courage sufficient left to guide and prompt them to prosecute such adventitious discoveries. The maritime spirit that derives advantage from every incident, and even draws strength and courage from misfortunes and dangers, so as to undertake the boldest adventures, is indebted for its origin to the happy discovery of the mariner's compass.

III. At the time that the *Roman* arms, by land and sea, had reached to their highest point, several islands lying near *Africa* were observed in the *western* ocean, especially those that are called the *Fortunate*, or the *Canary* isles, at the western end of the old world, from which philosophers began to reckon the degrees of longitude. This advantage excepted, it afforded little else than to amuse idle fancies with poetical fables; and

the more so, as the real accounts of those islands began to be more and more eclipsed. In the 13th century, the *Canary* islands were discovered once more, and the Republic of *Genoa*, through the medium of navigation and trade, having arose to the highest degree of prosperity, in consequence of this second discovery, formed a plan of trading there, and fitted out two gallies for that purpose, about the end of the preceding century. In the course of the following centuries, these islands were visited by other nations; the slave-trade carried on there, and the adjoining coasts of *Mauritannia*, defrayed the expences of the equipments. After frequent navigations had dissipated the dread of the seas, the old idea of the fertility, rich and happy state of these countries were in some measure found to be true, on the other hand, the simplicity, and the feeble resistance of the barbarous inhabitants became conspicuous, then the thirst of gain, and the glory of conquests inflamed several to undertake the subjugation of these countries. The most enthusiastic in this list, was *Don Luis de la Cerda*, great grand-

grand-son of King *Alonso* the *wise*, from whom the dukes of the illustrious house of *de la Cerda*, now Dukes of *Medinaceli*, are descended. This Prince, excluded from the succession to the *Castilian* throne, formed a plan to acquire another crown on the *Canary islands*; and for that purpose recommended himself to the pretended dispenser, and arbiter of kingdoms; and truly *Pope Clement* the Sixth appointed him King of those islands, with the title of “Prince of Fortune;” but the whole was a mere matter of pomp and inanity.

IV. Inflamed with similar ambition, the renounced *John of Bethencourt*, a French nobleman of *Normandy*, took it into his head to seize on those islands, and even to sell part of his estates to furnish out an equipment for that purpose. The adventurous spirit of his countrymen, long renowned for the roving exploits of their ancestors on the ocean, was not yet extinguished; and there is sufficient reason to believe that their navigation on the *Atlantic* seas, outstripped that of all others, for

which reason it was not difficult to find out in the harbour of *Rochelle* some individual, who would aid this nobleman with his fortune, to fit out a vessel with a sufficient crew for such an expedition. With this support, and the consent of the King of *Castile*, *Bethencourt* settled the first *European* colony in the isle of *Lanzarote*, in the second year of the fifteenth century. He soon saw the insufficiency of his powers for such an undertaking; in consequence of which, he implored the protection of our King *Henry*, and submitted to him as a vassal. After having received the requisite support, and invested with proper privileges, he gained the isle of *Lanzarote*, and three other small islands, for the *Castilian* crown. Under the protection of these new establishments, these seas were more frequented than before; the landings on the isles and continent increased, the inhuman slave-trade was augmented; and the traffic in goat skins, dragon's blood, orseille, and other fruits of the new colony, began to excite the public attention. The town of *Seville* was the chief mart for these articles.

Almost

Almost all the mariners sailed out of its harbour; and after they had considerably lessened the population of the islands from the frequency of their attacks and hostilities, and terrified their petty Princes into submission, the entire conquest of them was at last completed, by the rapid and successive aid of every kind, especially land and naval forces. By this means, the *Canary* islands were united to the kingdom of *Seville*, and contributed very much to the extension of the commerce and navigation of that city and its districts. In addition to this opulence, the seamen acquired a perfect knowledge of the sea, and coasts of *Africa*, to the *Cape of Bojador*; and from the narratives of the slaves that had been there, several accounts of other coasts and countries, situated more to the South.

V. This extension of the nautical science and geography, communicated from the harbours of *Andalusia*, to their frontier neighbours, the *Algarvs* in Portugal, elicited in the heroic mind of the wise Don *Henry*, ideas and plans, far above the intellectual light of his day. It was generally believed,

lieved, that the *Cape of Bojador*, was the extreme boundary of the navigable ocean, and that innumerable dangers awaited those that dare to venture beyond that limit, drawn by the hand of the Creator. The shoals, raging billows and tides, which had been seen near the *Cape*, were supposed to extend from thence over the remainder of the ocean. The countries, if any, existed in those regions, were supposed to be like the *Lybian* deserts, barren, sandy wastes; where the wretched inhabitants, if any, were of the lowest class, and on a level with the beasts, scorched by the sun, which it was thought rendered the torrid zone uninhabitable. It was astonishing to see a young and inexperienced Prince despise the terrific tales of artful mariners, and the political observations of designing courtiers, and that he should form and execute a plan for such important discoveries, and that he should burst those bounds, which credulity had placed to navigation. For the space of twenty-three years, he persevered with unabating firmness in his undertaking; and was always sending out ships without obtaining his aim, or gratifying his

his wish; for as to the islands of *Porto Santa* and *Madeira*, which were accidentally discovered in that period by some of his captains, they did not in the least fall in with his new plan, and it is probable they were not unknown to the *Castilian* navigators.

VI. Nevertheless, this unfortunate event, far from relaxing, redoubled his exertions; and at last the *Cape*, that might be called the marine *bugbear*, was overcome in the year 1433. A glorious enterprize, which at that time was considered as an occurrence not less glorious than the labours of *Hercules*, and which undoubtedly was of the highest importance. Many prejudices vanished at the appearance of this new light, and now the seamen collected courage to steer their course at a greater distance from the shore, by which they avoided the interruptions and dangers of the old mode of sailing within view of land. The *Infant*, without delay, immediately fitted out two vessels more; one of which was larger than all those which were sent before. Probably, his penetrating and observant genius, saw the necessity of
larger

larger and stronger ships, in order to combat this bold navigation, and sail through deep and turbulent seas, in spite of contrary winds. His whole life was spent in the steady and zealous prosecution of his original plan, which was crowned with the success of having discovered the coast of *Africa* to *Sierra Leona*, *Madeira*, the *Azore* islands, and those of *Cape Verde*; of having established the *Portuguese* in those places; and of having seen the hopes of a direct trade with the *East Indies* perhaps fulfilled. This Prince died in 1460, at the age of sixty-seven, and left the world a glorious example of diligence, perseverance, and charity. Having withdrawn himself from the bustle of a court in his tender years, he lived mostly in the harbour of *Sagres*, in *Algarvia*; and resigned himself entirely to the studies of cosmography and navigation; full of the warmest zeal in the aggrandizement of his country, and the promulgation of the gospel in distant and unknown regions, he invited well-informed men of every nation to assist him in these exalted views; together with the most experienced and dauntless pilots; in short, all such persons

persons as seemed able to contribute, through ability or knowledge, to the advancement of his views. The *Andalusians*, in the beginning, had the preference, as they were in the highest repute for navigable knowledge. In order to get his countrymen instructed in this art, he invited, at a great expence, master *Jacob of Majorca*, who was very celebrated and experienced in this science, and also in delineating maps, and making mathematical instruments. It would be of great use, if a cotemporary writer had marked the progress of which the nautical science made through the diligence, constancy, and exertions of the *Infant*. The extensive voyages which he planned himself, with so much caution and prudence, and the safety with which they were performed, is a proof that this art, at that day, began to cast off its coarseness, and to assume that polish and refinement with which it shone a short time after in *Portugal*.

VII. King John the Second, warmed by the example of his uncle, fanned the spirit of discovery, and encouraged the sciences on
which

which the continuance and extension of it depended. He found the coast of *Guinea* examined beyond the equator; also the gold trade at the fort of *de las Minas*, then carrying on, and the probability of sailing round the continent, and the discovery of its eastern coasts brought to a high degree. At the same time, however, he found the mariners timorous, and rather unwilling to trust themselves beneath an unknown sky, without a leader, or to venture into the ocean of the southern hemisphere. In this situation, he assembled the ablest cosmographers of his kingdom, *Joseph*, a Jew; and *Rodrigo*, two eminent physicians; and *Martin Beheim*, a German, a native of *Nuremberg*, a disciple of the celebrated astronomer, *John Muller*, of *Konigsberg*. His Majesty recommended to their attention the discovery of some new invention, by which the seamen might be encouraged. This generous Prince was the liberal patron of science and merit, and soon reaped the honour of it. After many trials and consultations, the applicability of the astrolabe was discovered; this instrument enabled them to take on board the meridinal

ridinal altitude of the sun above the horizon. The variations of this luminary on each day of the year, were calculated, and laid down in tables, which exceedingly facilitated the knowledge of the latitude. By this happy invention, the mariner was no longer under the necessity of frequently looking out for the continent, from the situation of which, they had previously calculated the place of the ship. As this was merely conjectural, it was subject to a thousand mistakes and errors; thus guided by the astrolabe, they sailed with confidence and intrepidity to the southern hemisphere, in pursuance of the wishes of Government.

VIII. The courage displayed by the seamen, in consequence of this imperfect beginning of astronomic navigation, is beyond all description. The point of *Africa* was immediately discovered; and in consequence of that, still greater plans were formed, to the universal admiration of the rest of the *European* power, who, astonished at the view of so many different countries, of strange and singular nations, and things from
the

the extended coasts of the *Cape of Bojador* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, immediately perceived the palpable ignorance and idle presumption in which they had hitherto lived, and on which they had founded their opinions and persuasions. They now began to incline to give crédit to many narrations of very old date, which they till then had been considered as mere fables.

The annals of the *Egyptians*, coteremporary with the world, the marvellous narratives of *Plato*, concerning the *Atlantic* island, and its mighty monarchs and nations in the *western ocean*, regained their lost crédit; and the evidence which *Alexander* the Great gave to the sentence of *Anaxarchus*, respecting the existence of a new world, was likewise judged to be well-founded.

IX. These notions spread themselves over Europe, from the period of the possession of the *Canary islands*, as literature and nautical science shed mutual light on each other. A number of ancient MSS. were brought into day, in which several sayings were found,
relative

relative to several countries formerly seen, or conjectured to exist in the Atlantic ocean. What turned the heads of the people most of all, was that large island, abounding with several navigable rivers, which the *Carthaginians* discovered at a great distance from the continent, the extraordinary fertility and amenity of which invited them to inhabit it; but the Government, afraid that this happy colony in time might eclipse the mother country, ordered them to evacuate it, and never to return to it, under pain of death. The book in which this account was found, bore the name of *Aristotle*, the authenticity of which no person dared to doubt. To the narration of this philosopher, several embellishments were added. For instance, that seven *Spanish* bishops, with a number of christians, had fled thither, and had found an asylum in it, from the persecution of the *Moors*, (the conquerors of *Spain* in the 8th century,) and the fables of many *Portuguese* voyagers, who had sailed to that island which was represented in books, maps, and worked up into tales, under the name of the *Seven Towns*. At last it was fabled, that out of a quantity of earth, brought

I

from

from one of these western harbours, the third part was pure gold. This idle tale stimulated several mariners to set out in pursuit of this ore; and though they persisted in vain, yet this disappointment was not sufficient to overturn the story; on the contrary, it spread still wider, and the very island was represented under the name of *Antilla** on most of the maps of the fifteenth century.

The

* It is not known who gave this name first to this island, or placed it in the *western* ocean. The situation and size of it is not equal on all the old maps, because it was only known by hearsay. *Bianco* places it parallel with *Spain* and *North Africa*, in the utmost *West*, as a large oblong square, with many bays, under the name of the isle of *Antilla*. *Peter de Rosselle*, who drew a large map of the world (at *Majorca*, in 1464) as it was known or supposed in his day, has placed a considerable country towards the *West*, with a large bay, but without any name. *Paul Toscannelli*, a physician at *Florence*, in 1474, sent a map of the western countries to *Lisbon*, and afterwards to *Christopher Columbus*. The island of *Antilla* was found on this map, and *Paul* was so sure of its situation, that he calculates its distance from *Cipango* to be 225 leagues. (See *Barica Histor.* T. I. p. 5.) *Martin Beheim*, in his map of 1492, places

The isle of *Brandon* * was not less renowned, and stood still richer in fable. This name is given to a meteoric appearance, which had been observed several times westward of the *Canary* islands; such, and similar exhalations induced the inhabitants of the *Azores*,

places in the 23d degree of northern latitude, between the *Azores* and *Cape de Verde* islands, a little isle in the midst of known regions, which he calls the *Antilla*, or the isle of the *Seven Towns*. He is the first who considers those two names as synonymous. *Columbus* gave the names of this fictitious country to those islands of the *New World*, which he had discovered in the first voyage; and confounded with those many islands which *Marco* pretended to have found beyond *Cathay* and *Cipango*.

T. N.

* Saint *Brandam* was a *Beuedictine* monk of the sixth century. He was, as the legend tells, with his companions, seven years in pursuit of a western *Paradise* isle, called *Ima*. His critical biographic, *Papebrach*, did not think it worth while to examine this navigation, on account of the number of marvellous tales with which it abounds. Nevertheless, it is marked in all the ancient maps. *Beheim* places it near the equator, south-west of the *Azores*, and gives it the same figure that *Antilla* used to bear in the maps of earlier geographers; it seems, however, as if he had confounded *Antilla* and *Brandon*.

T. N.

and *Madeira*, as well as the mariners who sailed to the islands and coasts of *Africa*, to fancy that they saw a country, which only existed in their own imagination; whence a number of voyages of discoveries in the western *ocean*, and not a few by the orders of the Court of *Portugal*.

X. These pretended discoveries and cheats, were soon represented on maps as realities. General maps of this unknown ocean were drawn, and filled with painted islands and continents, which no person had really ever seen. Such, it seems, was that map of the world, which the *Infant Don Pedro* is said to have brought from *Italy* to *Portugal*, for the use of his brother *Don Henry*; and on which the *Cape of Good Hope*, and the streights of *Magellan* were drawn, long before their discovery under the name of the bounds of *Africa*, and of the *Dragons Tail**.

This

* This is the map already mentioned of *Benincasa*. *Biornstabl*, who saw it in his travels, says that it was drawn in 1455, by the order of the *Infant Alphonso*, and
a copy

This was the case also with the map which *Paul* the naturalist sent to *Lisbon**, and with the globe, made by *Martin Beheim*. The archives of *Nuremberg* preserve no great treasures in this once so celebrated terrestrial globe; nor is it to be much lamented, that the map of the *Infant Don Pedro*, or a similar one, is no longer to be found in the archives of *Alcobaza*. Independent of these documents, modern times furnish sufficient proofs of the visions of the geographers of that age; who were presumptuous enough to erect ar-

a copy of it existed in the monastery of *Alcabaza*. We do not know what account our author had of it; but after what he mentions of it, the southern part of *Africa* was delineated in it just as it appeared in *Bianco's* map, where in that point, two dragons were painted, with the words, *Nidus Abimalion*. T. N.

* *Paul* of *Florence*, called by some, *Toscanella*, sent descriptions of the western countries, with maps, as well to *Christopher Columbus*, as to his friend, *Ferdinand Martinez*, a canon at *Lisbon*. *Ferdinand Columbus*, has inserted his letters on this subject, in the life of the Admiral, his father. The maps are lost, but it is to be seen by his letters, that he determines the situation of the western countries after the authority of *Polo* only.

T. N.

bitrary systems in the infancy of knowledge, for ignorance is generally accompanied with vanity and temerity.

XI. Some credible accounts have been acquired of the eastern limits of the ancient world, from the peninsula of *Malacca*, to *Cathay* and *Japan*; from the narrations of *Marco Polo*, the first and last European known to have seen such remote countries. It was also he that communicated some undetermined ideas of the numerous islands scattered in the Asiatic *Archipelago*, which he had learned from some *Chinese* mariners. The large space between these islands and those of *Africa*, of which the Spaniards and Portuguese had taken possession a short time before, were to our traveller, as well as to the *Arabs*, an ocean of darkness; from the immensity of its extent, it had been the received opinion at all times, that several countries of enormous size were concealed in it. Notwithstanding this, after the mature weight and consideration of all authorities, maps and traditions, such little certainty was found, nay, even so little probability, that no person would venture to
seek

seek adventures in such a boundless sea, unless he had yielded himself up to all the influence of fool-hardiness. The ancient *Carthaginians*, the *Arabs* of the middle age *, and the later discoverers of *Portugal* and *Spain*, had set out in vain for that purpose. The unsuccessful perseverance of the latter seemed to be an evident proof, that if those pretended western countries were really in existence, they were not, however, situated at a convenient distance from those shores, to which the seamen, in order to save their

* We learn from *Arabian* geographers, that at least in the 12th century, when *Lisbon* was still under the dominion of the *Arabs*, several inhabitants of that city undertook a voyage of discovery in pursuit of the western countries. At the end of thirty days sail, they found several islands, one of which was stored with abundance of sheep, but the flesh of which they could not taste, it was so bitter; and another inhabited by men; here they were told that the ocean was only navigable for thirty days farther to the west, as continued darkness stopt the course there. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, one street in *Lisbon* preserved the remembrance of this western voyage, and was called *Almagrurim*, which signifies in *English*, those that go astray. *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliotheque du Roi*, Vol. II. p. 25.

lives, were under the necessity of returning to. As long as this necessity existed, adventurers dared not risk a distant voyage on the *Atlantic* wave; nor could they be expected to persevere long enough in fruitless, hazardous, and expensive essays. But at the time which eternal providence had pre-determined as the period for opening a communication with both worlds, a man, more than common, appeared, who was born to discover, and lead to new ways.

XII. This was *Christopher Columbo*, or *Colon*, as he called himself, after he had established himself in *Spain*, immortalized his name in that country, and raised himself as the head of a very illustrious family. He was born in the city of *Genoa*, in 1446; his father, *Domingo*, a citizen of that republic, manufactured and dealt in woollen stuffs, because his paternal estate in the dutchy of *Piacenza*, was too small for the decent maintenance of his family. *Christopher* cultivated the sciences at a tender age, and made such a rapid progress in the *Latin* language, and the rudiments of the mathematics, as enabled him to understand the cosmographic writers, of the reading
of

of which he was peculiarly fond. At the age of fourteen, he returned from the university of *Pavia* to his native country. He learned navigation, and pursued it three and twenty years successively, with such zeal and perseverance, that he remained at sea for a long time, in order to gratify his unbounded and praise-worthy curiosity. He made voyages on the seas frequented by Europeans, full of desire to sail farther than other navigators had ventured; he sailed through the northern ocean, a hundred leagues beyond *Iceland*, the *Ultima Thule*, or the boundary of what had been thought navigable to that day. Every place he landed at, he endeavoured to open a trade with the natives, in order to obtain information of the countries. He compared what knowledge he had acquired in this way, with the accounts then in existence, relative to those countries, and enriched them with his own observations. To this judicious practice he united the knowledge of the auxiliary sciences of navigation, viz. the use of sound astronomy, extensive geographic learning, and an able hand in delineating maps, making spheres and other instruments.

In

XIII. In order to finish this career, and to ascend to that sublime point to which his towering mind prompted him, he settled himself at *Lisbon*, about the end of the reign of *Alphonso* the Fifth. The *Portuguese*, even at that day, were celebrated as the first navigators in the world; and the ministry, led on by the *Infant Henry*, and taught by experience, opened their arms to every foreigner possessed of distinguished knowledge in cosmography and nautical science; *Columbus*, of course, was received with the utmost cordiality. He made several voyages to their new discoveries, and by that means, as well as by making some maps, he was enabled in a short time to live genteelly, to support his indigent parents, and to afford his younger brothers an education. Such was the esteem that his wisdom, conduct, and merit raised him to, that he got in marriage *Donna Felipa Muniz Perestrelo*, daughter of the founder of the colony of *Porto Santo*, a knight of the royal house; and on whose family the lieutenancy of that isle had been conferred as a right of heritage. From an alliance so advantageous, he availed himself of fresh opportunities

opportunities of augmenting his fame, and to raise his mind to objects still higher. Inter-married into a house, indebted for its name and prosperity to nautical atchievments, voyages and discoveries, were the favourite topics of conversation. The writings of the deceased *Bartholomew Pereirelo*, excited the attention of his son-in-law to examine the origin and progress, the causes and designs of the *Portuguese* voyages. Noting the doubts and tardiness with which the chief object was treated, namely, the acquisition of the rich trade to the *East Indies*, he gave himself up to unremitting considerations and close reflections, with an intention of finding out a mode of facilitating an undertaking which was conceived to be a matter of as much difficulty as it was of importance.

XIV. As he was ruminating and arranging his ideas on this subject, his brother-in-law, who had been for some time Lieutenant of *Porto Santo*, informed him, that the western winds had driven some wood on that island, which appeared to be worked without the help of iron; and that cane of uncommon size,
like

like that described by *Ptolemy* in the remotest *Indies*. This circumstance was confirmed by some other persons, and also by the King, to whom some of these pieces had been sent. Such marks of land were perceived upon the island of *Madeira* and the *Azores*, and farther to the west on the ocean; and these observations and incidents were farther confirmed by two dead bodies thrown on these shores, which differed in lineament and feature from those already known. Though *Columbus* was not subject to the *Mania* of credulity, and the rashness of the mariners and geographers of these times, yet these remarks, and the westerly winds, observed from time to time, which only continued for some days, inclined him to believe that there must be countries towards the west, and at an accessible distance; and it did not surprize him, that they had not yet been discovered, as no one had hitherto ventured into these parts of the ocean beyond a hundred leagues.

XV. He conjectured, besides, on reasonable grounds, that those countries might form the utmost bounds of the *Indies*. The ancients
extended

extended *Asia* to an enormous length. The country of the *Seres* joined to the western limits of the present empire of *China*, and lay, as *Ptolemy* states, twelve hours from the meridian of the *Canaries*, that is, 180 degrees westward from those islands; but *Marino* from *Tyrus*, placed it about 15 hours, or 225 degrees. *Columbus* adopted this calculation, which came very near his own ideas, and seemed the most conformable to the assumed supposition. He followed the situation of the unknown eastern country, which was thought to be extended far to the westward; this conjecture was confirmed by the narration of *Marco Polo*, who placed these countries, or *Cathai*, so far towards the east, that they might lie two hours eastward behind the *Seres*. Seven hours still remain to complete the twenty-four, into which the compass of the globe is divided; and from these seven, about one hour is to be subtracted, on account of the space newly discovered by the *Portuguese*, towards the west, beyond the meridian of the *Canary* islands, from which *Marino* and *Ptolemy* began to calculate. Besides this, as the limits of the utmost Indies were unknown,

known, it was very possible that their coasts, or the islands lying round them, extended so far that their remoteness from *Europe* might be much less than it was imagined,

Aristotle was of this opinion ; and *Seneca* confidently pretended, that if the wind was favourable, it would require only a few days to sail from the harbours of *Spain* to the *Indies*. At all events, the sea betwixt the eastern countries and the *Azores*, and *Cape de Verde* islands could not be so great as to deter experienced and intrepid discoverers ; particularly if *Alfragano* was right, who supposed the length or circuit of the globe to be much less than other geographers did, and who calculated every degree of equator, not at sixty miles, but at fifty-six, one-third. This statement, however erroneous, seemed to be confirmed at the time by repeated observations.

XVI. Thus *Columbus* judged ; when the *Portuguese* had even passed the line, and for all that had not reached the southern limit of *Africa*, and were still less confident of a discovery

covery on this road, than of the so much long wished for passage to the *Indies*. But suppose that it should be discovered at last, it would always be a tedious and troublesome way, as it really has been found; consequently, since *Columbus* took for certain, that the extension of *Asia* was so large, which was the general supposition of all classical mathematicians and geographers of the fifteenth century, he concluded very justly, that the passage to the eastern ocean, would be much more short, and more convenient, on the western road, than that which the *Portuguese* endeavoured to find southward, by sailing round *Africa*.

XVII. *Columbus* kept this plan for some time secret, and read and reflected on it without intermission, in order to mature and bring it to perfection. Every day encreased his affection for it, and he was inflamed in the same degree with a desire of putting it into execution. This flame, however, was regulated by prudent caution, till he had tried every means that wisdom and sober premeditation could suggest. He was in-
formed

formed that *Paul Toscanelli*, a *Florentine* physician, had written a letter to *Fernando Martinez*, a Canon at *Lisbon*, concerning the navigation, which he conceived the *Portuguese* ought to pursue towards the west. Very glad that his ideas and opinions ran in unison with so great an astronomer, and desirous of receiving additional information, he wrote to him, and communicated his opinion on the subject. *Toscanelli* was delighted with the correspondence of so generous and learned a mariner, and he lost no time in returning an answer, in which, if he was not successful enough in elucidating the theory of *Columbus*, he at least confirmed it by his approbation, and incited him to the execution of his plan. He extolled, in a high degree, the magnitude, fertility, and abundance of those countries, which he thought might be easily found. He represented the *Asiatic* islands, of which *Marco Polo* gave but a slight description, as very rich and full of traders. *Cipango*, the queen of these islands, according to his description, abounded in gold, pearls, and diamonds; the temples
and

and palaces were covered with plates of fine gold. The most distant quarters of the continent are drawn by his pencil in a stile still more magnificent, particularly the province of *Catag* and *Mango*, in the metropolis of which, called *Quensfay*, or the city of Heaven, the *Kan*, or King of Kings holds his court, where the arts flourish under the eye of a wise government, where abundance reigns, especially in gold, silver, gems, and all kinds of spice. The population of the country is immense, and the towns so numerous, that two hundred of them lie on the banks of a single river, ornamented with magnificent marblebridges, stately columns, royal palaces, lofty buildings, extensive gardens, and every thing worthy of admiration. To this he adds the urbanity and humanity of the inhabitants, their desire of trading with the christians, the facility of drawing riches from their commerce, and what a pity it would be to forfeit all these promising advantages through fear of the short way that was to be discovered. He founded his brilliant descriptions not only on the narratives of *Polo*, *Man-*

K *deville,*

ville, and *Nicholas de Conti**, as witnesses that agreed in the extraordinary riches of the third *Indies*, as the eastern part of *Asia* was called, but also of other famous and learned travellers, with whom he had conversed. Such remonstrances animated the spirits of *Columbus* exceedingly, fanned the sparks of his laudable ambition, exalted the idea of

* *Nicholas de Conti* was the last known *European*, who after *Marco Polo*, and before the navigations of the *Portuguese*, had travelled to the *Indies*, and given an account of them. He was a *Venetian*; he visited the *Indies*, several countries on the other side of the *Ganges*, *China*, and part of *Polynesi*, previous to the year 1420; the date cannot be determined more accurately. He has not written the account of his travels himself, but he was obliged by the command of Pope *Eugene IV.* to relate them in 1444, to the celebrated *Poggius* of *Florence*, who selected the marrow of them, and translated it into *Latin*. His narratives, less copious than those of *Marco Polo*, are stuffed with monstrous tales, but with respect to single countries, occasionally instructive. King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, in 1500, caused them to be translated into *Portuguese*; this task was undertaken by *Valentine Fernandez*. *Ramusio* has published these travels in the first volume of his collections from this translation, but on account of the want of the original, he was not able to fill up the chasms which is supposed to contain some interesting accounts of *China* and other countries.

of

the merit of the undertaking, and stimulated his wish to put it into execution. To diminish the dangers in so bold an enterprize, *Toscanelli* drew on a map of the western ocean, the several isles, which might be resorted to in case of necessity. He reckoned with great certainty on the visionary isle of *Antilla*. It is likely that *Columbus* omitted these delineations on that map of the globe which he had sent to him, to mark out the course of his intended voyage; it is true he was less credulous, but firmly convinced that he would discover some country in this way. He followed the opinion of his age, that the ocean covered the smallest part of the surface of the earth, and as he knew from evident cosmographic proofs, how small the compass of the known world was, he could not help supposing that the deficiency must be supplied by some continent or islands, somewhere in the oceans, which according to *Aristotle's* opinion, would be found opposite to the old world.

XVIII. He was strengthened in this idea by some classical writers, philosophers, as well as geographers and historians. He

examined and weighed their observations and testimonies with particular caution and attention; he found them all united in one opinion with respect to the main point of the matter, however they might differ in circumstances, from which he rightly concluded that these accounts were founded on ancient narratives, which time had obliterated and altered. These narratives might have possibly arisen from mariners that had suffered shipwreck formerly, or had been cast away, either natives of these *Atlantic* countries, who had sought shelter in our hemisphere, or *Europeans*, who, after having informed themselves of these western countries, and having overcome innumerable hardships and dangers, of a nature not to be attempted a second time, had returned home again. The testimonies of several writers render both of these conjectures probable, and as to the tradition of the existence of countries in the *Atlantic main*, they do not admit of the least doubt of it. *Plato*, a philosopher of the greatest weight, quotes several ancient sayings, which had been communicated to the wise *Solon*, by the Egyptian

Egyptian priests; and amongst others, he maintains that the sunk *Atlantis* had held the latitude of the ocean from the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*, that several islands were on the other side, and behind them a continent. *Eliau* also repeats an old translation, which says that *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, were islands every where encompassed with water, but that the true continent was in the ocean, abounding in gold and silver. In consequence of other traditions, *Virgil* and *Pliny* mention the isles of the *Hesperides*, that they were situated to the west, forty days from the *Gergades*, or as *Columbus* interpreted it, *Cape de Verde*. It seems, in fact, that *Columbus* directed his course by that statement. Probably he believed, that in sailing through the ocean for the discovery of the *East Indies*, he might also discover by the way some happy countries. The glory of such discoveries, inflamed him still more perhaps than his chief design; and as a warm resolute spirit is easily led to believe what it so ardently wishes, so it happened to him in this undertaking, that he at first thought it only possible, and at last certain, and void of doubt; and that from

the success of it, he promised himself a high degree of happiness and immortal glory to the latest posterity: for as he saw several foreign navigators in *Portugal*, who had merely discovered little islands, honoured, caressed, and rewarded with the government of them, what might not the author of the greatest undertaking in the world expect?

XIX. Warmed with this enthusiasm, and inspired with confidence, he disclosed his plan to the generous *John II.* in whose kingdom he had been naturalized, and where he might naturally expect to meet with a ready disposition to accept of his proposal, and to judge of the capability of it; but it was tendered at an unseasonable time. The King, at the beginning of his reign, burned with a wish to extend his commerce of *Africa*, and to accomplish the discovery of its coasts. The slave-trade, traffic in gold, ivory, and other precious wares encreased very much, and for the maintenance of it, a colony, and the fort of *de la Minas* was established, in order to protect the *Portuguese* conquests, and to extend the propagation of the christian religion

ligion in those infidel countries*. The most eminent cosmographers were assembled at the command of the King, and laboured with the utmost zeal in promoting the navigation and discoveries beyond the line to the *Indian* seas, to which they imagined themselves to be very near, in consequence of the tendency of the coasts towards the east. These hopes and prospects seemed to be as well founded and as splendid, as the profits of the future trade would be certain and considerable; in short, the whole system was calculated to insure fruitful possessions, and to convert the product of them into the means of acquiring other neighbouring dominions of inestimable value. Notwithstanding the wisdom of the plan, his Majesty received the proposal of *Columbus* with coolness; on repeated requests, however, he ordered it to be more particularly ex-

* This fortress on the gold coast, or the fort of *Delmina*, as it was called, was built in 1481; it belongs to the *Dutch* at present. All the materials employed in the erection of it were carried from *Portugal*. The first establishment of it is more particularly described by *Ruy de Pina*, *Chron. del Rey João II. in collecção de libros ineditor de Historia Portuguesa*.

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amined by *D. Diego Ortiz*, bishop of *Ceuta*, and the physicians, *Rodrigo* and *Joseph*, who were charged with the care of every thing belonging to cosmography and discoveries. They all exhibited disapprobation and dislike. The prudent monarch did not behave in such a manner, free from prejudice and passion, and animated by a more glorious spirit, he gave audience to *Columbus* himself, listened to his arguments, and found the scheme plausible. It was carried indeed to a negociation, which would have been followed by an agreement, if *Columbus* had contented himself with a title of honour, and the perpetual government of the countries which he might discover, as was customary in such cases; but *Columbus* entertained such high ideas of the merit and the magnitude of the undertaking, that he would not tender his services for less than the promise of extraordinary honours and prerogatives.

XX. During these negotiations, a vessel was fitted out by the advice of the bishop of *Ceuta*, and sent out in the seas mentioned by *Columbus*, under the pretext of furnishing the

the *Cape de Verde* islands with provisions. As the persons entrusted with this expedition neither possessed sufficient knowledge or intrepidity, they landed after a fruitless voyage of a few days on those islands, and blamed and ridiculed the undertaking. *Columbus*, fired with indignation at such underhand proceedings, abandoned every idea of negociation with such a crafty deceitful court, however anxiously the king might wish for it as *Columbus* well knew. Tired of *Portugal*, and his domestic cares lessened in consequence of the death of his beloved wife, he prepared to leave the kingdom, and lest he should be detained by force, if his designs were known; he set out nearly about the end of the year 1484.

XXI. Writers of authority mention that he had taken shipping from the harbour of Lisbon; most of them agree that he went directly for *Spain*; for my part, I think it more likely that he touched first at *Genoa*, where we find him in 1485. Here he offered his personal services and rich discoveries to the Senate, and perhaps he might have done so by letter before he applied
to

to the king of *Portugal*, as is generally supposed from his exalted love of country, which still glowed in his breast, notwithstanding his long absence. The Senate did not appreciate his merits, and rejected his offers, as the dreams of a sickly and heated imagination. In fact, if we consider the low state of the Republic, and her sensible decay, a better reception and answer could not be expected, especially as her seamen, as mere practitioners, were unable to judge and estimate with propriety such a bold and novel enterprize.

XXII. Discontented with his native country, and having discharged the duties of a tender son towards his old and affectionate father, *Columbus* was determined to try his fortune once more in foreign states. He placed much reliance on Henry the Seventh, King of England, a young and aspiring prince, who had just deprived Richard the Third of his crown and life, in a victorious battle. He appointed his brother *Bartholomew* to conduct this negotiation at *London*, a very
judicious

judicious man, and well skilled in navigation, and making charts and nautical instruments. He himself came to *Spain*, because he reposed great confidence in our catholic princes.

XXIII. In the town of *Palos*, now an insignificant place, but at that time flourishing, and considerable for its commerce and navigation, he received a kind reception, as well as in the neighbourhood. Here *Columbus* found friends and defenders, who contributed very much to the happy lot destined to him. *Fray Juan Perez de Marchena*, a *Franciscan*, guardian of the ancient monastery of *Rabida*, appeared at the head of this list, a virtuous and well-informed divine, well versed in cosmography and naval science. He esteemed *Columbus* very much, and became his intimate friend, treated him in his monastery, and alleviated his cares very much, by taking on himself the maintenance and education of his young son *Diego*. He examined *Columbus's* plans with care, several times with the author alone, and at others in union with *Garcia Fernandez*, an able physician, who was at the same time a
good

good mathematician. The celebrated navigator, *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, warmly joined in the approbation; it is known that he not only confirmed *Columbus's* ideas of the shortness of the way to the third *Indies*, the magnificence of *Cipan*, and the certainty of the success, but also assisted him with money to enable him to open a negotiation with the court, to which he was still more encouraged by the Guardian who recommended him to the worthy prelate *Fray Hernando de Talavera*, at that time prior of the monastery of *Prado*, and confessor to the queen, who had no small share of influence in the most important affairs.

XXIV. In the spring of the year 1486, the king and queen, *Fernando* and *Isabella*, came to *Andalusia*, as they had done the four preceding years, to accelerate by their presence the conquest of the kingdom of *Granada*. *Columbus* waited upon their Majesties in the town of *Cordova*, and delivered his first proposals. The cares attendant on wars, the general amelioration of the government, and other important concerns in several
pro-

provinces, involved the court in perpetual inquietude and hurry. The king, the main-spring of all state transactions, never entered on any important business without mature deliberation. The proposed plan, from its nature and quality, demanded a close and cautious examination, the more so, as it required considerable expence, at a time of distress and scarcity of money. Under these circumstances it is worthy of admiration that so much attention was paid, and hopes held out to an unknown adventurer. Doubtless the dignity and noble deportment of his person; the easy, learned, and confidential manner in which he unfolded his great plan, attracted the attention of the royal personages, as well as the patronage of several other eminent individuals.

XXV. I know not whether *Fray Hernando Talavera* may be numbered among these nations; the king and queen ordered him to assemble several learned cosmographers to examine the plan, and to report their opinion of it. The meeting was held at *Salamanca*, perhaps, because the court resided there for the ensuing winter. It is
a pity

a pity that no documents of the learned debate which was held at the Dominican Monastery of *St. Stephen*, have been left, in order to form a judgment of the state of mathematics and astronomy in that university, so renowned at the day. It is known that *Columbus* wrote down his Theses, exhibited his arguments, and answered all the objections started against his system. Some ridiculous objections have escaped oblivion, worthy of the ideots who were ignorant of the first elements of geography. It was opposed to the shortness and facility of the navigation to the *Indies*, that the sea might be found rising, so that the ships must ascend as it were up hill, that the size of the ocean was immense, and that three years would not be sufficient to reach to the end of the east. Objections of still greater folly were raised against the discovery of the western countries, such as, that as they had remained unknown to the greatest philosophers which the world ever produced, of course it was very unlikely that a new mariner should be better informed of the subject than they were; and still further,

suppose

suppose such countries existed, they would be found uninhabited, and incapable of being inhabited, because the human kind were confined to that part of the earth, which *Ptolemy* had described, and *Saint Augustin* had exploded the existence of *Antipodes*.

XXVI. *Columbus* did not find it very difficult to dissipate the prejudices of the ignorant, with arguments at one time, the testimonies of writers at another, and the experience of the voyages even of their own day, but he was not able to render himself intelligible to men devoid of knowledge and principles, nor of drawing out a sincere confession from men puffed up with sophistry and conceit. He had the pleasure of experiencing mere docility, candour and attention in those, who possessed a greater share of erudition, but who did not however presume to be masters of the subject in question. The *Dominicans* are proud of having entertained the discoverer of the *Indies* in the monastery of *St. Stephen*, and of having enabled him, by some favours, to
pur-

pursue his plan, and particularly of having
 adopted his opinion in these discussions, and
 of having gained over the first men of the
 university to take his part. The favourable
 decision on the part of *Columbus* is chiefly
 ascribed to *Fray Diego Deza*, the head profes-
 sor of divinity and preceptor to the prince *D.*
Juan, whose ascendancy at court, in quality
 of confessor royal, daily encreased. After all,
 the chief point that was proposed to be
 determined by that learned committee was
 very little advanced, and it was no wonder
 that these sciolists persisted in their prepos-
 sessed opinions, and that the best informed
 either suspended theirs or divided in them.
 But even the difference of opinion, and
 the warmth with which they were main-
 tained, served to augment the name and
 reputation of *Columbus*, and to encrease the
 number of his party. He was no longer
 looked upon as an idle projector, but as the
 inventor of a scheme calculated to promote
 the good of the state; the consequence of
 which was, that he was enrolled in her
 Majesty's retinue, and enjoyed the same
 liber-

liberties of entertainment and other prerogatives allowed to those who followed the court.

XXVII. The negotiations were continued at court with that tediousness, however, which arose from the stress and embarrassment of public affairs. The mind of *Columbus* was absorbed entirely in his plan. Neither the distinguished honour which was shewn him by the first nobility, the liberality of the minister of finance, nor yet the pledge of wedded love in another son born at *Cordova*, could prevail on him to desist from his solicitations. Every moment of delay was intolerable to him. At last the king and queen tired, perhaps, by his importunities, and informed by *Talavera* of the difference of opinion on the projected plan, sent him word, that the cares and expences attendant on the conquest of *Granada*, would not permit them to embark in any thing new, and that a more seasonable opportunity might present itself at a future day, when his proposals would be duly attended to.

Columbus begged to be heard once more, and finding the royal pair fixed in their

resolves, he imagined, that they were founded on the suggestions of the ignorant cosmographers, who deemed the proposed discoveries chimerical visionary, and repugnant to the royal dignity. In consequence of this opinion he interpreted the answer into a compleat refusal. And hopeless of ever coming to a determination with the court he proposed his scheme to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and according to some, to the duke of *Medinaceli*, wealthy and opulent nobles, whose maritime dominions contained ships and seamen; the harbour of *Santfanejos*, or *St. Lucar* of *Barrameda*, belonged to the former, and that of *St. Mary* to the latter. Finding that his proposal would not be listened to by either, he wrote to *Louis XI.* of *France*, with a view, to commence a negotiation at *Paris*, and in case he should not succeed, to go to *London*, to second his brother's petition, of whom he had not the least account.

XXVIII. He departed from *Seville* to *Rabida* to see his eldest son, whom he intended to leave at *Cordova*, and bid adieu to his faithful friend, *Fray Juan Perez*. This
divine,

divine, who had taken up the matter from the very beginning with enthusiasm, prevailed on him to defer his departure, promising to win the mind of the queen, to whom he was confessor, and whose kindness and attachment to the clergy was remarkable. This ecclesiastic, set forward immediately to the camp at *Santa-fé*, where the court was held with the army to influence the surrender of *Granada*. He presented the rational motives for adopting the plan, the weighty advantages of gain and glory, that would flow from it, and the irreparable loss to the *Spanish Monarchy* if any other power should seize on it. He represented *Columbus* as an able, well informed, and judicious man, sufficiently qualified for the task, which he proposed, and that it would be an irremediable mistake, to let slip so fair an opportunity, of aggrandizing the kingdom, if he were permitted to depart from the country under any displeasure.

XXIX. Overcome by such a persuasive address, the queen desired *Columbus* to be sent for, and ordered, that twenty thousand *Mara-*

vadis should be advanced, to defray his travelling expences. Immediately on his arrival the negotiation was renewed. *Columbus*, warmed with all the ideas of splendor and glory, stood out on high terms, and amongst the rest insisted on being invested with the titles of Admiral, and Viceroy, with the authority and jurisdiction annexed to both. He was encouraged, and favoured by Cardinal *D. Pedro Gonfalez de Mendoza*, the first Minister of the Crown, who, at the request of *Fray Juan Perez*, and the Minister of Finance *Quintanilla*, had honoured him with an audience, and conceived a very good opinion of his person and address. On the contrary, the Prior *Prado* and several others looked on the undertaking as too adventurous, and the projector, as a vain inflated man, and that the reward, which he demanded, was enormous, even in case he should be able to fulfil his engagements. If he did not succeed, they deemed it an absurdity, to confer such distinguished honours on a needy adventurer. It was not possible, to accommodate the matter, as *Columbus* peremptorily stood out upon the
terms

terms which he at first proposed. He prepared himself a second time, to set out for *France*, when he heard those that envied him say, that he would be the only winner if he were exalted to the rank of General Captain of the Fleet of such a great monarch, and that he risked nothing in case he did not succeed. This induced him to propose that he would take upon himself the one eighth part of the expences of the equipment, if the same part of the gain should be allowed him. Nevertheless, his terms seemed to be still so high that there was no listening to them. *Columbus* gave up all hopes, just at the instant that he expected to reap the fruits of his troubles, tedious negotiations, pressing solicitations, and fatiguing contradictions. Whilst the court and the whole nation were singing hymns, and celebrating festivals, in consequence of the conquest of *Granada*, he saw himself neglected, and oppressed with the thoughts of having lost seven years, the period from his first arrival in *Spain*, and compelled to leave a country which he had considered as his own, and

uncertain what fate would await him in *France* or *England*. Under all these impressions his constancy never deserted him; he took leave of his friends and set out for *Cordova*, in January 1492.

XXX. Scarce had he departed, when *Luis de St. Angel*, receiver of the ecclesiastical rents in *Arragonia*, warmed by love and fervent zeal for his country, addressed the Queen, and energetically represented to her Majesty, that he was highly surpris'd, as she was never considered as the protectress and support of great undertakings, that she should seem to want courage to put a plan in execution that would bring in immense wealth, tend to propagate the christian religion amongst barbarous nations, redound to the glory of the crown, and add considerable countries to the royal domain. It was only peculiar to sublime and exalted minds, to exert the utmost diligence in the discoveries of the wonders and mysteries of nature and the world, to dispel the doubts in which they were involved, and to clear up the truth, for which reasons it
would

would be glorious to attempt such important discoveries. It would betray something more than pusillanimity, to give up such an enterprize for the paltry sum of two thousand five hundred piaſtres, which was the whole amount of what *Columbus* demanded. Nor were the rewards and honours demanded by *Columbus* out of bounds, as he took upon himself a ſhare of the expence, and riſked his honour and life, though it were very likely that he, as a prudent and judicious man, would come off triumphantly. And if this prize ſhould be gained by any other *European* power, who could eſtimate the loſs and damage which the kingdom and the crown would ſuſtain? Friends and enemies would blame the pernicious pusillanimity and ignorance which did not ſeize on an opportunity ſo ſeaſonable, and their very deſcendants would feel the loſs and ſhame of it. *Quintanilla*, who had entered during this addreſs, ſeconded and confirmed *Saint Angel's* opinions. The Queen collects courage, thanks them for their advice, and promiſes to undertake the whole affair herſelf for the Crown of *Caſtile*. She added, that it would be neceſſary to delay the expeditions till ſhe had

recovered somewhat from the war; but if this delay should not fall in with their wishes, she was ready to mortgage her jewels for the requisite sum to fit out the equipment. *Saint Angel* filled with transport, offered to advance the whole, and hoped the royal command would be immediately given to fit out the fleet without delay.

XXXI. A messenger was instantly dispatched in pursuit of *Columbus*; he was overtaken on the bridge of *Pinas*, two miles from *Granada*, and when he returned to the town of *Santa Fé*, he was received with such kindness and cordiality, that he forgot all the vexations he had undergone. The King took a part in the business with pleasure, not only out of complaisance to the Queen, but at the instance of several persons of high rank, at the head of whom, was the first Lord of the Bed-chamber, *Juan Cabrero*. All obstacles and difficulties immediately vanished. An order was issued to *Juan de Coloma*, Secretary of State, to draw out the contract with *Columbus*, according to his memorial and demands. The writings were expedited on the 17th of April, at *Santa Fé*, in the following

following terms, 1st: If *Columbus* should discover any islands or continent in the ocean, he was to retain in them, for himself and his heirs, the dignity of Admiral, with the same honours and prerogatives which the high Admiral enjoyed in his district. 2dly: He was to be Governor General of all the countries which should be discovered by him, or any person under his direction, and invested with the authority of nominating three persons to the special government of every island or province, the appointment to be at the choice of the King. 3dly: He and his Lieutenants were to hear and determine all suits in law, arising out of the new commerce, in the same manner as the high Admirals of *Castile*, in their departments. 4thly: He was to have the tenth part of the profits, of all wares and fruits, that should be acquired by whatever means, within the circuit of his Admiraltyship. 5thly, and lastly: He should contribute the eighth part of the expences of fitting out whatever number of ships should be thought necessary to be employed in the commerce and intercourse of the New World, and at the same time receive the
same

same quota from the profits that should be acquired. Agreeably to these articles, these privileges were granted to him on the 30th of the same month, at *Granada*, together with the title of *Don*, which was then only conferred on persons of high birth.

XXXII. Their Majesties took care that every thing necessary to fit out the equipment should be carried into immediate effect. Nay, they did more than they were obliged to do by the contract. They wrote letters to the Princes who might be found to exist at the limits of the eastern and western oceans, requesting that their Ambassador and Minister would be received, favoured, and protected in the most kind and honourable manner. An order was directed to the town of *Seville*, to permit arms, provisions, and all other things necessary for the voyage, to pass free of all duty. The town of *Polos* was bound to furnish the crown with two caravals, for three months every year, and these two vessels were now appointed for the expedition.

The care of finding a third ship to complete the number stipulated by *Columbus*,
and

and the requisite arrangements and preparations for the whole were left to himself, for which purpose, the sum of seventeen thousand florins *, deemed to be sufficient, was paid into his hands, advanced by *Saint Angel*. The King and Queen, besides, as a testimony of his personal merit, confirmed, at his request, the liberties and privileges of the mariners of *Saville*; a favour which was very opportunely conferred, as he attracted their attention by it, and gained the confidence and esteem of the seamen. Under all these favourable omens, he took leave of the court on the 12th of May, filled with gratitude and pleasure. According to his instruc-

* The expences of the first equipment are stated by the historians in a different manner, and Mr. *Munoz* differs from all, not only in stating them at a less sum, but in a coin not common to *Spain*, viz. in *florins*, or in *diez siete mil florines*. *Herrera*, with whom our author otherwise agrees with respect to the negociations at the Court of *Castile*, has omitted the amount of the expences. *Ferdinand Columbus* takes notice in the life of his father, *en passant*, that he had only asked 20,500 piastres for all the expences of the voyage. *Doctor Robertson* rates them at 4000*l.* sterling, without stating his authority.

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tions,

tions, he was not to infringe by any means on the possessions and islands of the *Portuguese* in *Africa*, pursuant to treaty with that crown.

XXXIII. Having arranged every thing with respect to the maintenance and education of his two sons, *Diego* and *Fernando*, he set out for the harbour of *Palos*, where the ships were to be fitted out. It was a difficult matter to find a sufficient number of seamen to undertake such a dangerous and laborious voyage, though many in the neighbourhood were well acquainted with and practised in the navigation of the known seas. But what encouraged the people most, was the lively zeal and ingenuity of the Guardian of *Rabida*, which was seconded by the example and authority of the brothers *Pinzon*, rich ship owners, and well skilled in nautical affairs, who assisted in person and fortune in the advancement of the undertaking. They took upon themselves a part of the expences which fell upon the Admiral, persuaded a number of their friends and relations to embark with him, and accelerated by their activity,

activity and pecuniary advances, the equipment of the three vessels, with provisions for twelve months, and a crew of ninety men, most of them natives of *Palos*, *Maguer*, *Huelva*, and other neighbouring places. The largest of the vessels was named *Santa Maria*, on board of which *Columbus*, as Admiral, hoisted his flag. To the command of the second, called the *Pinta*, he appointed *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, and his brother, *Francisco Martin* was steersman. The third, which carried triangular sails, was named *Nina*, and was commanded by *Pinzon*, the third brother. *Vicente Yanez*, *Sancho Ruiz*, *Per-Alonso Nino*, and *Bartholomy Roldan*, accompanied as *pilots*. *Rodrigo Sanchez* of *Segovia*, went as superintendant of the fleet; *Diego de Aranna*, of *Cordova*, as *Alguazil Mayor*; *Rodrigo de Escobedo*, as *Notary Royal*; a physician of the name of *Alonso* a surgeon of the name of *Juan*, a few servants, and some other adventures, in all 120 persons. They embarked in the name of God, having previously confessed, and taken the sacrament, after the example of their religious Admiral, for the purpose of strengthening their courage.

 BOOK III.

I. **O**N Friday, August 3d, this fleet of discovery weighed anchor in the port of *Palos*, and sailed down the river *Tinto* into the ocean, towards the *Canary* islands. On the Monday following, the *Pinta* broke her rudder. Some of the seamen, who had exhibited marks of fear in the harbour, were suspected as the cause of this fatal accident, in hopes that it would be the means of inducing the Admiral to return to port. But the intrepid and dexterous *Martin Alonso*, endeavoured to remedy the disaster by binding the rudder with ropes, which, however, were too feeble to resist a blast of wind, and only lasted four days. With much ado, the three ships at last reached the great *Canary* island on the 9th of August, after a voyage of six days. They were obliged to remain at this island about a month, during which time the triangular sails of the *Nina* were changed into
common

common ones; the *Pinta* was also supplied with a new rudder, previous to which it was deliberated whether it would not be better to take a vessel of forty tons burden in her stead, which was about her tonnage.

II. With such vessels as these, *Columbus* committed himself to an ocean, whose bounds were unknown, on the 6th of September, and steered his course from the isle of *Gomera* directly to the west. At the last sight of the isles, many of the hands began to sigh and weep, and gave over all hopes of ever seeing land again. The Admiral encouraged them with the flattering prospects of fruitful and extensive countries, and as he foresaw that their fears and despondency would encrease, in proportion as they advanced on their voyage; he had the precaution to keep two journals, a secret one in which he accurately noted down the ships' way, and a public one, in which he artfully shortened it. He observed, to his great surprise, about two hundred leagues off the isle of *Ferro*, that the needle did not point as usual to the north, but declined to N. W.

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He marked down this declination, hitherto unknown, and found that it encreased in proportion as they advanced to the west. At first he imagined that the needle, as commonly supposed, was not attracted or ruled by the polar star, but by some other fixed and invisible point; but when these declinations were more frequently observed, he found that this hypothesis was not sufficient to explain the cause of such variations; for it was observed that several needles pointed at the beginning of the night to the north west, and at break of day were parallel with the meridian*. This phænomenon, as it was then called, filled the captains and pilots of

* On the principles of the ingenious Mr. Euler, (see the Berlin Acts, volume for the year 1757) the declination of the magnetic needle may in great measure be accounted for. That is, supposing the magnetic poles of this earth to be, at any one time since actual observations have been made on that subject, only two, but not situated diametrically opposite to each other. (See Cavallo's Treatise on Magnetism, p. 117.) It is also well known that the magnetic declination is not only different in different parts of the earth at the same time, but that in a course of years it also becomes different in the same place. Farther, that this declination

in

with terror and amazement, convinced that
all hopes must vanish when the mariner's
compass

in the same place is not only different in different years,
but even the afternoon declination is generally different
from the forenoon declination of the same day.

This subject appeared very unaccountable till the
year 1759, when the late Mr. John Canton explained
it in a very ingenious manner; for having found by ex-
periment, that by heating a magnet it lost part of its
attractive power, and by letting it cool, it recovered
that power again; he likewise discovered by repeated
observations, that while the eastern parts of the earth
were heated by the sun in the forenoon, and conse-
quently had their magnetic powers diminished, the
needle generally inclined more to the westward, and that
after the sun had passed our meridian, and the western
parts of the earth began to be heated, while those on
the east of the meridian were cooled, the declination of
the needle was less westerly by several minutes, and that
by next morning it had returned to its former position
nearly. We say nearly, for after a course of more than
twelve months attentive observation he found, that the
declination was upon the whole increased of about ten
or twelve minutes of a degree. That this increase was
occasioned by the sun's heat, appeared the more pro-
bable, as it took place mostly in the summer months;
and during the winter months there was but little alte-
ration.

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compass became useless. But the ingenious *Columbus*, whose presence of mind never deserted

It must be allowed, according to the observations of several ingenious gentlemen, that the collective magnetism of this earth arises from the magnetism of all the ferruginous bodies therein contained, and that the magnetic poles should therefore be considered as the centres of the powers of those magnetic substances. These poles must therefore change their places according as the magnetism of such substances is affected; and if with Mr. Canton we allow that the general cause of the diurnal variation arises from the sun's heat in the forenoon and afternoon of the same day, it will naturally occur, that the same cause, being continued, may be sufficient to produce the general variation of the magnetic needle for any number of years. For we must consider that ever since any attentive observations have been made on this subject, the natural direction of the magnetic needle in Europe has been constantly moving, from west to east, and that in other parts of the world it has continued its motion with equal constancy.

As we must therefore admit that the heat in the different seasons depends chiefly on the sun, and upon the whole that the months of July and August will probably be found the hottest, while January and February are the coldest months of the year; and that the temperature of the other months falls into the respective intermediate degrees; though from calculation we can scarce pretend
to

ferted him, dispelled their fears, by accounting for this phænomenon in a plausible manner,

to ascertain the absolute heat of any particular month or day ; so we must consider the influence of heat upon magnetism to operate in the like manner, viz. that for a short time it scarcely manifests itself ; yet in the course of a century, the constancy and regularity thereof becomes sufficiently apparent. It would therefore be idle to suppose, that such an influence could be derived from an uncertain or fortuitous cause. But if it be allowed to depend upon the constancy of the sun's motion, and this appears to be a cause sufficient to explain the phænomena, we should (agreeably to Newton's first law of philosophizing) look no farther.

As we therefore consider the magnetic powers of the earth to be concentrated in the magnetic poles, and that there is a diurnal variation of the magnetic needle, these poles must perform a small diurnal revolution proportional to such variation, and return again to the same point nearly. Suppose then that the sun in his diurnal revolution passes along the northern tropic, or along any parallel of latitude between it and the æquator, when he comes to that meridian in which the magnetic pole is situated, he will be much nearer to it, than in any other ; and in the opposite meridian he will of course be the farthest from it. As the influence of the sun's heat will therefore act most powerfully at the least, and less forcibly at the greatest distance, the magnetic pole

ner, by attributing it to the diurnal motion of the polar star round the pole. Thus the
crew

will consequently describe a figure something of the elliptical kind ; and as it is well known that the greatest heat of the day is some time after the sun has passed the meridian, the longest axis of this elliptical figure will lie north-easterly in the northern, and south-easterly in the southern hemisphere. Again, as the influence of the sun's heat will not from those quarters have so much power, the magnetic poles cannot be moved back to the very same point, from which they set out ; but to one which will be a little more northerly and easterly, or more southerly and easterly, according to the hemispheres in which they are situated. The figures therefore which they describe, may more properly be termed elliptoidal spirals.

In this manner the variation of the magnetic needle in the northern hemisphere may be accounted for. But with respect to the southern hemisphere we must recollect, that though the lines of declination in the northern hemisphere have constantly moved from west to east, yet in the southern hemisphere, it is equally certain that they have moved from east to west, ever since any observations have been made on the subject. Is it possible then that the magnetic pole in the southern hemisphere can move from east to west, whilst that in the northern hemisphere moves from west to east ?—I
think

crew were perpetually suspended betwixt hopes and fears, according to the appearance

think not. But we must consider this matter a little more attentively. In the first place it must be observed, that in speaking of the declination or variation of the magnetic needle, we always refer to the north end of the needle only. Thus, when the north end of the needle points to the west of the meridian, we say it has so many degrees west variation, though the south end thereof points as many degrees to the eastward. Again, when the north end of the needle points to the eastward of the meridian, we say it has east variation, though the south end points to the westward thereof. And the same language is used in the southern as in the northern hemisphere; so that if the south magnetic pole, which governs the needle in that hemisphere, move to the eastward, occasions, as we say, the needle to have west variation; and, on the contrary, if it move to the westward, it makes what we term east variation. This therefore is the cause, on account of which the lines of magnetic declination, or Halleyan curves, as they are now commonly called, appear to have a contrary motion in the southern hemisphere, to what they have in the northern; though both the magnetic poles of the earth move in the same direction, that is from west to east.—*Lorimer on Magnetism.*

T. N.

of the different objects that inspired the one, or agitated the other.

III. On the 14th of September, the crew of the *Nina* perceived a sea fowl (*Rabode Junco*) which appeared to have come from some land at no great distance. The next day they saw a surprising flame of fire descend at a distance, and soon after, they discovered entire fields covered with grass and marine plants in the midst of the sea, which resembled beautiful and extensive meadows. Some rejoiced very much, at those presages of land, and their hopes were increased, when one of the seamen found a living crab in the supposed grass; others were afraid that the vessels might strike on concealed sandbanks, or that the grass might impede their course, which really happened to be the case. They soon saw again a number of sea fowl of the first kind they had seen, and a great quantity of tunnies. They had now sailed upwards of four hundred leagues in an unknown sea, when the captain of the *Pinta* declared that he had descried many birds towards the west, and
marks

marks of land enveloped in thick fogs towards the north. *Columbus* was of opinion, that it might be a cluster of petty islands; and as he was firmly persuaded, that the *Indian* countries must be farther off, he continued the same course towards the west, in a calm and favourable gale.*

IV. The impatience and timidity of the crews now burst forth into open murmurings. They had got so far into the boundless deep, that even the boldest mariner was affrighted. Even the calm and serene weather was considered as the prelude to misfortune, and the forerunner of destruction; they considered all countries that might afford any relief, as far remote; the almost continued easterly winds, with which they had began their voyage,

* *Columbus* steered his course according to the maps and directions of *Toscanelli*, in consequence of which he was convinced that he must sail about 750 leagues beyond the *Canaries*, to reach the island of *Cipango*; for to that island he referred his companions, as the principal object of the whole voyage, when they, as it was but too often the case, desired him to steer another course. *Herrera*, Dec. I. C. XI. p. 19.

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induced

induced them to believe, that their return by the same track would be utterly impossible. Some time after, however, they resumed a little courage, when they saw some of those fowl, which from the 19th of September, had given such hopes of the contiguity of land. Even *Columbus* did not consider this as improbable, in consequence of which he began to sound, and though ground could not be discovered two hundred fathoms deep; yet he never laid the line out of his hand, because the following days presented successive objects, which led him to entertain the hopes he had conceived; a whale was now and then seen, little fish, new meadows floating on the surface of the water, on which small crabs and turtles were found; also small singing birds, which seemed to be of the land kind, and which could not have come from any great distance. Notwithstanding all these marks, however, when the land so impatiently sought for by every eye did not appear, the crews began to murmur afresh, and still louder than ever. Nothing alarmed them so much as the continuance of the easterly wind, which would
prevent

prevent their return. It is true, at the time the wind had shifted to the south-west, but they did not consider it as lasting, or strong enough to drive them with sufficient speed to the east, especially as it did not even throw the waves into motion. *Columbus* in vain attempted to persuade them, that this calm arose from the shade of some neighbouring land; he was neither believed nor respected, notwithstanding all his exertions to maintain his authority, by alternate threats and promises. When his authority was almost entirely sunk, and even the sacred name of the King no longer respected, he gave over almost every human aid of insuring obedience and due submission, and of continuing his voyage, when on the morning of the 23d, agreeably to the wishes of the crew, a north westerly wind sprung up, and the sea became somewhat agitated. This he considered as a distinguished mark of divine favour, because this circumstance, and the sight of more fish and fowl, once more calmed the turbulence of the mariners.

V. But

V. But alas, this was a short-lived joy; when they reflected on the fallibility of all those flattering omens, the great damage the ships had sustained, and the large tract of ocean, which lay betwixt them and their native country; a dreadful fear seized on all; they began to plot and conspire, and in the agony of their grief, cursed the author of their misfortunes, whom they characterised as an ambitious fantastic fellow, whose only object was to gratify his wild ambition at the expense of their lives; and that to hazard such a daring enterprize against the opinion of so many learned and eminent men was neither more nor less than an impudent temerity, which called down the severest punishment. They had now made a voyage that was never equalled before; to advance farther, their destruction would be inevitable. The general determination was, that they should return to *Spain*, to which some of them added, that if the Admiral did not immediately accede to this, they would throw him secretly overboard, and give out that he had fallen into the sea as he was consulting the stars. Such was the spirit and intrepidity of *Columbus*, notwithstanding the imminent dangers which threatened

threatened him, that he was determined to run the risk of his life rather than relinquish his design. He had the address to soothe some with soft words, flattering promises, others with reproaches of cowardice, threats and menaces in consequence of the full powers with which he was invested ; he endeavoured also to encourage some ; to fan the sparks of honour in others, and to frighten the rebellious into proper subjection. He continued to pursue his course to the west with perseverance, except at one time, that he deviated to the south-west, in consequence of the advice of *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, who fancied he saw land towards that quarter, but it soon appeared that it had been a cloud, and the Admiral returned, to the great mortification of the crew, to his former course. Fish, fowl, and verdant spots, often appeared on the surface of the main again. Hopes and fears alternately reigned, according to the different impressions of the objects. They all observed with the utmost attention whatever struck their eyes ; but *Columbus*, above all, who, in addition to his unremitting attention to the astrolabe, the needle, and other

other nautical instruments, was also under the necessity of devising artful and ingenious arguments, to calm the agitated minds of the mariners, and to extinguish the sparks of mutiny.

VI. On the 1st of October, the distance from the isle of *Ferro* amounted to 707 leagues, but in the public journal he had marked only 584. With this reckoning, the pilot of the main ship must be acquainted, for he reckoned 578 *. The pilots of the two other vessels stated it less. Whether it was through mistake, or agreement amongst the Admiral, captains, and pilots, the true distance was unanimously concealed, lest it should dishearten the men. On the third day, several fowl which had been seen the

* The statements of the journals differed very much from each other. *Columbus's* pilot laid down the distance from the *Canary* islands at 588 leagues. The Admiral, according to his own observations, which he published, calculated it at 707 leagues, and according to his secret journal it was 707. The pilot of the *Nina* laid it down at 650—according to that of the *Pinta*, 634. *Herrera*, p. 18.

T. N.

preceding

preceding day, disappeared; most of the crew conjectured, that they were flying to and from the islands, betwixt which they had sailed, and they wished to seek those islands on the way to the south or the north. *Columbus* continually refused to make use of the favourable wind which drove him farther to the west, where he soon hoped to make discoveries, as well as to maintain the good opinion of his voyage, by incidentally seeking, what he affected to know with perfect certainty. The malcontents were ready to burst forth into mutiny afresh, when on the evening of the fourth, besides the usual marks, a number of little birds appeared flying in flocks; similar objects followed in so great a quantity, and in such rapid succession, that some, whose imagination was inflamed with the impatience of seeing land, imagined that they saw it at every moment, and scarce could their lips refrain from the annunciation of a prospect so truly desirable. The thirst of gain had its share, however, in this anxiety; for the King had promised a pension of 30 dollars, or 10,000 maravedis a year, to the first that should descry land.

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The sagacious Admiral observed that hope, often disappointed, depressed the spirits, and in order to prevent this, he ordered that the first person who should cry out "land!" should be entirely excluded from the royal bounty, if the land should not be discovered within three days after.

VII. Nevertheless, on the morning of the 7th of October, the *Nina*, which was a quicker sailer, and of course usually a-head of the rest, believed to a certainty, that she had discovered land, and as a token of joy, hoisted her flag, and fired a gun. It was soon found to have been an illusion, and the disappointment had such an effect upon the minds of the crews, that the agitation was still greater than before. The tumult and confusion became so universal, that, if we may give credit to *Oviedo*, *Columbus* and the *Pinzones*, on the following day, October the 8th, found themselves so embarrassed and pressed on every side, as to be obliged to enter into an agreement with his hands, that in case land should not be discovered in three days after that, he would return; this
part

part of the narrative, however, seems uncertain. We have the clearest proof of the courage of *Martin Alonso* and his brothers, as well as the intrepidity and presence of mind of the Admiral. Even the anxiety and agitation of the crew subsided in a short time, because several flattering appearances immediately rose to view, and amongst the rest, a great number of little birds, with varied plumage and melodious notes, all of which were flying in flocks to the south-west. This circumstance reminded them of the experience of the *Portuguese* mariners, who, on pursuing the flight of such birds, had discovered many of their isles. And as they had already sailed upwards of 750 leagues west of the *Canaries*, in which region *Columbus* hoped to find the isle of *Cipango*, he declined from the parallel of the island of *Ferro*, according to which he had hitherto steered his course, and went about the fourth part southwards, according to the flight which the birds took, that were now constantly seen. On the morning of the ninth, they breathed a fresh and odoriferous air, such as is felt at *Seville*, in April. Every
moment

moment exhibited fresh marks of a contiguous shore : the soundings, the form and aspect of the atmosphere, the frequent change of the winds, and other infallible appearances, revived their drooping spirits every moment. Notwithstanding all this, the timidity and agitation of the crew encreased again, and a menacing murmur was kept alive by the discontented. The Admiral once more upbraided them with pusillanimity and cowardice, in so firm and authoritative a tone, with which the consciousness of undoubted success inspired him.

VIII. On the evening of the 11th, they were all transported with joy, when they discovered a green rush, a kind of fish, that is generally found amongst rocks ; a small plank, a cane, a stick, artificially worked ; a grassy turf, which appeared to have been waisted from the shore, and a thorn bush, bearing red berries. When the night approached, and *Columbus* was persuaded that they were near land, he assembled the crews, and reminded them of the unspeakable obligations they were under to Almighty God,

God, who had granted them such favourable weather, and who, notwithstanding their murmurs, had not deserted them, till he had conducted them to the great object of their adventurous voyage. He also recalled to their recollection the first article of instructions which he had given them in the *Canaries*, that when they had sailed about 700 leagues from those isles, it would not be prudent to sail after midnight, and as he was certain that they would be soon blest with the sight of some shore, it was necessary to warn them to be watchful and on their guard, as he would give a silk waistcoat to the first that discovered land; over and above the royal pension of thirty dollars. About ten o'clock at night, as he was making observations with his usual attention on the quarter deck, he saw a light somewhat like a torch, carried from one place to another. At first he called *Pedro Gutierrez*, a royal page; and afterwards the superintendent, *Rodrigo Sanchez* of *Segovia*, who saw it likewise. It was remarked, that this light rose, sunk, vanished, and instantly appeared again; it was concluded, that it was carried

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by

by people in their hands. About two o'clock in the morning, land was descried by the *Pinta*, at the distance of about two leagues, as she was a-head of the rest. The first who had the good fortune to announce this welcome intelligence, was a mariner of the name of *Rodrigo of Triana*. The captain of the *Pinta* communicated the joyful news by the discharge of guns. The ships came together, and as soon as it was broad day light, a flat and pleasant island appeared in view, full of limpid rivulets, and abundance of green bushes. The crews were filled with the liveliest transports of joy; the Admiral lifted up his heart and eyes to Heaven, and poured forth many ejaculations of thanks and praise to God. The whole crew joined in the psalm, *Te Deum laudamus*, which he began to sing, and as soon as they had paid their early vows to the Divine Author of all blessings, they all gave themselves up to sport and pleasantry; their feelings on this occasion influenced their opinions. *Columbus*, who had hitherto been considered as a vain fantastical projector, was now changed, by success, into a hero in their eyes.

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All those that belonged to his ship, crowded round him as their guardian angel, and every one did him homage in the manner which he thought the most expressive of his gratitude, affection, and high respect.

IX. In the mean time, as the vessels approached the shore, the novelty of the spectacle brought together a number of the astonished inhabitants. The Admiral and the Captains went on shore, accompanied by armed men. The royal colours flying in the air were carried before the former, and the latter were preceded by the standard of the enterprize, on which a green crucifix, with the initial letters of *Fernando* and *Isabella*, were painted, in honour of the Christian religion and their Majesties, under whose auspices the expedition was undertaken. As soon as they had reached the long-wished for shore, they fell on the ground, kissed it, bedewed it with tears of joy, and repeated their thanks to the Supreme Being on their knees. *Columbus* then rose, and pronounced the word *Salvador* aloud, as the name of the island, and as a testimony, that he dedicated the first of his

discoveries to our Saviour. He then took solemn possession of it, for and in the name of the *Castilian* crown. The *Spaniards* instantly hailed the illustrious discoverer as Admiral and Viceroy of the island, and took the oath of allegiance to him as such; many at the same time entreated his forgiveness, for the sorrow and distress which they had occasioned in his mind, in consequence of their pusillanimity and irregular behaviour.

X. The natives, who were present at all these scenes, were astonished and perplexed at the novelty of the ships, the men, their colour, dress, arms, ceremonies, &c. Our men were almost as much surprized, as the islanders differed from themselves in almost every respect, except in the shape and size of their limbs, which were regular as well as their features, which, however, were deformed by foreheads uncommonly broad. Their skin was of an olive colour, like that of the inhabitants of the *Canary* islands, or sun-burned peasants; their hair thick, black and erect, mostly cut off above their ears, hanging down the shoulders of some, or tied up with
a string

a string round their heads; they went quite naked, painted, or rather specked with different colours, either more or less of a deeper tinge. They appeared to be very mild tempered, but extremely stupid*; so ignorant and destitute of any kind of knowledge, that they were incapable of forming any conception of the new objects around them. The first impression seemed to raise in their minds an idea of a superior order of beings, in consequence of which they ran away with the utmost precipitation, but when they saw that no one pursued them, they collected sufficient courage by degrees to return, with marks of the deepest humility; some threw themselves prostrate on the earth, and others raised their eyes and hands to Heaven, endeavouring to express by such gesticulations

* *Don Ferdinand Columbus*, in his account of the life of his father, (in which he sometimes introduces extracts from the Admiral's journal) says, that the islanders peculiarly admired the naked swords of the *Spaniards*, that they laid hold of them by the edge, and wounded themselves with them; much like the inhabitants of *Otaheite*, who, when they first saw boiling water, ran to catch it in their hands as it flowed from the tea-kettle.

T. N.

that they considered the *Spaniards* as descended from Heaven *.

Columbus

* This belief, and the opinion that the *Spaniards* were immortal, prevailed for a long time amongst the natives of the New World, and continued after some nations had experienced sufficient proofs to the contrary. *Oviedo*, who lived amongst them from 1513, to 1545, relates a remarkable instance of it. The inhabitants of *Porto Rico*, (*San Juan*) after the *Spaniards* had almost entirely subdued them, wished to convince themselves whether their new masters were mortal like themselves. One of their *Caziques* wished for this opportunity; he endeavoured, by several acts of kindness, to induce a *Spaniard* to visit him. The young man at last accepted of the invitation, and looked upon himself to be quite safe. He was persuaded to let himself be carried over a river. In the midst of it, those that bore him, dropt him into the water, and held him so long in it that he was drowned. They brought the breathless body to the shore, but could not persuade themselves that he was dead; they called on him repeatedly by his name, *Salcedo*, "Get up, it is not our fault that you fell into the river." They staid by the corpse three days, till it began to smell. This was reported to the *Cuzique*, but he was so far from giving credit to it, that he sent others to see if *Salcedo* did not rise when called. At last he went to view the body himself, but this did not convince him; he ordered it to be watched till it

was

Columbus distributed several beads of glass, little bells, and other trifles amongst them, which they preferred to gold and diamonds. Those who had not been presented with any of those trinkets, offered whatever they possessed for them. As the *Spaniards* were on their return to the ships, several of the natives followed them, and those that could not get into canoes, swam, and when they got a few glass beads, and broken bits of glass, they returned quite contented.

XI. The first and second day passed away in this little commercial intercourse and visits. The rudeness and poverty of the people were visible on every occasion; the only articles of barter which they commonly produced, were bottoms of cotton, very well spun, parrots, sticks like lances, and javelins with points hardened in the fire, and sharp-pointed bones joined to them.

was in such a state as to remove all doubt. The natives now began to think that the *Spaniards* were subject to death like themselves, the consequence of which was a general insurrection in a short time after. *Oviedo*. L. xvi. c. 8.

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These were the only arms they exhibited ; there were no uncommon animals to be seen, nor higher marks of art. They worked the wood by the help of sharp stones. With such instruments, and the aid of fire, perhaps, they hollowed trunks of trees, and formed them into canoes ; the largest of which would carry forty-five men, and the smallest one ; which they rowed with oars or paddles, shaped like a baker's peel, and if overset by accident, they were such excellent swimmers, that they could turn them again, and bale out the water with gourds or pomkins. What solely excited the attention and avidity of the *Spaniards*, were little pieces of gold, which some had suspended from the nose*. Being asked, by the means of signs, where they had got this metal, they pointed to other large countries in the south, where it was to be found in abundance. They also represented in the same mute language, that savage and warlike men came to their isle from the north-west to plunder, and that in those

* *Columbus*, in the beginning, mistook those ornaments for kinds of coin, and fancied that he saw strange letters upon them. *Herrera*, p. 23.

battles they had received many wounds, the scars of which they shewed.

XII. Thus *Columbus* was convinced of the existence of a continent, or rich islands at no great distance to the south and the west. He supposed they belonged to the *Asiatic Archipelago*, and that he should find in them the precious products of the *Indies*; he resolved to trace them, as soon as he had acquired some knowledge of the nature of *St. Salvador*, the name that he continued to call the island by, though he had been informed that the natives called it *Guanahani*; in my opinion, it is the same island that is now-a-days called *Watlin*, surrounded with cliffs. It is probable that *Columbus* landed at the south-western point of it, and rowed from thence in boats towards the north north-east, along the western coast, and round the north point, then along the eastern coast, which is the longer side of the isle. They saw three hamlets, a capacious harbour, and a spot of land, which formed a peninsula, joined to the island by so narrow a neck of land, that it seemed only to require two days labour to
cut

cut it away. There were six dwelling houses, or cots, on this peninsula, shaded with trees, that resembled a beautiful garden. As the boats were rowing round the coast, the natives followed on the shore, and called to each other to see the people who had descended from Heaven. Some swam, and others in their canoes came near the *Spaniards*, and generously offered to them all that they possessed, and received whatever was presented to them, with the most lively marks of gratitude and joy. Notwithstanding their simplicity and openness, they evinced, however, a great facility of rendering themselves intelligent, and of pronouncing Spanish words, from which *Columbus* concluded that they would soon be able to learn something of our language, which might render them in future as druggermen or interpreters, in which he was not disappointed, as experience confirmed, with respect to seven of them, whom he had taken aboard.

XIII. Having passed three days at *St. Salvador*, he sailed to a smaller island, about seven leagues distant from the former, and without stopping

stopping there, he shaped his course to another, which seemed to be larger than the last, and about ten leagues to the west. He cast anchor here, and took possession of it, called it *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*, in honour of the *Holy Virgin*. The inhabitants approached with the same marks of astonishment and respect as those of *Salvador*, whom they resembled so exactly in their persons, canoes, artificial works, and the fruits of the island, that they seemed to be one nation. From this island, *Columbus* sailed eight miles farther to the west, and alighted upon a still greater island, level like the rest, beautiful, and encircled with delighifful coasts. In all probability, it was that which is called in the modern charts, *Gato*; he called it *Fernandina*, in honour of the memory of the Catholic King. *Columbus* immediately dispatched a native of *S. Salvador*, with some trinkets, as presents to the inhabitants, and ordered him to inform them at the same time of the pacific intentions of the *Spaniards*, in consequence of which they did not fly; but they were not less amazed than the other islanders, and evinced the same high opinion
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of our people. As some of the seamen went ashore to procure a fresh supply of water, the natives assisted them with all the alacrity imaginable in filling and carrying it to the boats. The usual barter immediately commenced, by which it appeared that these islanders were not so limited in their ideas as the rest, and that they were somewhat farther advanced in civilization, for they attended more to their interest in the exchange of their commodities. They wore mantles of cotton, and the young women above eighteen years of age, covered their privities with a band of the same stuff. Their houses, or huts, resembled tents, but entirely destitute of ornaments, or any other thing worthy of attention, except swinging beds, which they called hamoks, which consisted of a net suspended from two posts by cotton ropes; as to other things, they differed little or not at all from the other islanders. The only land animals which appeared, were a kind of little dogs, which did not bark; there were some reptiles, such as lizards and serpents. They also saw several fish of different shapes, and very lively colours. What
peculiarly

peculiarly attracted their attention, were certain trees, with branches and leaves of various forms on each tree, and yet as different from each other as those of the reed and the mastic. When they sailed farther to the south-west, they came to an island, which surpassed all those they had yet discovered, as well in size, as in the beauty of the prospects. This isle rose higher above the surface of the sea, and the interior was not so flat and uniform as the rest, but exhibited a variety of hills, beautiful meadows and groves, and was well watered. Allured by such enchanting scenes, *Columbus* went on shore, in order to take possession of it, and transmuting the old name of it, *Samoetas*, into that of *Isabella*, in honour of the Queen. It is probably, that which is known by the name of Long island. He travelled so far into it till he found a village, the inhabitants of which fled, affrighted at the sight of the foreigners. They took courage, however, in a short time, and began to barter like the rest, whom they resembled very much in every thing. What was found in particular, were aloe plants, a vast number of singing birds, and

two

two of those lizards, which are known under the name of *Iguanas*, (*Leguans*) amphibious animals of an extraordinary size, and hideous aspect.

XIV. The wishes of the *Spaniards* were not gratified with all these fine views; they were impatient to reach the rich countries which *Columbus* had promised; for these islands did not by any means answer their expectations, nor had they any reason to suppose that several others seen at a distance by the crews, or pointed to by the islanders, were in a better state of cultivation, or richer. The natives of these different isles kept up a communication, and carried on trade with each other; of course the inhabitants of the *Lucayan Islands* must resemble each other very much, and as far as it has been observed, they actually did so. The name *Lucayan* was given to that cluster of little isles, lying northwards of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, and east and southwards of the Peninsula of *Florida*, under the twenty-first till almost twenty-eighth degree of polar height, of which *Lucayoneque* or *Yucayoneque*,
as

as it is called, among the greater ones is situated the most northerly, and next to that of *Bahama* also the most western, and all the rest have received their name from it. *Columbus* therefore resolved to lose no further time in the examination of islands, where nature and industry did not offer any valuable fruits or commodities, he steered his course to the south, in order to seek that great country, which all the *Lucayans* unanimously indicated under the name of *Cuba*, and represented by expressions and gestures, which conveyed the ideas to our people of its immense richness in gold and pearls, wealthy nations, powerful kings, abundance of ships, and opulent merchants. These circumstances, compared with the place where *Toscanelli's* chart pointed out the utmost limit of the *Indies*, and islands contiguous thereto, led *Columbus* and the *Pinzons* to conjecture that this *Cuba* might be the renowned *Japan*.

XV. They discovered it on the 27th of October, at night-fall, on the northern coast. The first view next morning presented a
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most beautiful country, diversified with gently rising hills, lofty mountains; extensive lawns, and considerable rivers. The fleet anchored at the mouth of one of them, in full view of the most enchanting prospect imaginable. The shores were covered with verdant trees, some in vernal bloom, and others weighed down with fruit; with palms of a different kind from ours. The richness of the grass seemed to vie with that which cloathes the verdant vallies of *Andalusia* in the months of April and May. *Columbus* was so charmed with the view, that he sprung ashore, took possession of the isle, and called it *Juana*, after the name of Prince *Don Juan*; he gave the name of *S. Salvador* to the rivers in which he first anchored. Two houses were discovered, which contained many fire places, with nets, fishing-hooks formed of bones, and other piscatory instruments, and a mute little dog was found, but none of the inhabitants appeared, who perhaps had fled with fright at the sight of the ships. The *Lucayans*, who had accompanied the *Spaniards*, pointed to the villages towards the west, in consequence of which *Columbus* on
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the next morning, the 29th, crossed the river, and pursued that way along the coast. In the course of a mile, he discovered a river, and a little farther on a larger one, called *Mares*, with an indifferent harbour, and a number of habitations along the shore. The fleet entered this haven, and *Columbus*, anxious to know the country, dispatched some men in boats to the villages, but the inhabitants ran away at their approach, in the utmost haste. The cottages were of the same simple structure with the former, like tents covered with palm leaves, but larger and somewhat better decorated. The nets, hooks, and fishing utensils were also proportionably preferable. Several tame wood fowls were found, little dogs, and heads, and figures cut in wood, which exhibited some progress in the art of carving. It was supposed that these cots belonged to fishermen, who furnished the towns with fish, which they hoped to find in advancing into the interior of the country.

XVI. Impressed with this idea they sailed along the coast. At the distance of fifteen miles they saw a cape crowned with many palm-trees, to which it was indebted for its name. The islanders of *Guanahani*, who were on board the *Pinta*, said there was a river behind it, and that after four days travel they would arrive at *Cubanacan*, where plenty of gold was to be found, by which they meant the mines of a province situated in the middle of *Cuba*, for *Nacan*, in the native language of that country, signifies the middle. But Captain *Martin Alonso*, prepossessed with the ideas of the Admiral, imagined they were speaking of the great *Kan*, and a rich town in his dominions. *Columbus*, who was informed of it, was of the same opinion, and proposed to pay a visit, if possible, to that monarch, or at least to send him some presents, and his letters of recommendation from the king of *Spain*. He continued his course for a day, till he saw a cape surrounded with sandbanks, which ran very far into the sea. He sailed along the coast N. N. W. The north wind then began to blow, and
grew

grew more violent. This contrariety of the wind, the sight of another cape, projecting still farther than any he had yet seen, the solitary state of the coasts, and the weak condition of the ships impelled him to return to the river *Mares*.

XVII. The fleet remained in this river from the 30th of October to the 12th of November. The inhabitants deserted their cottages, but when they were assured by a *Lukayan*, that so far from having any thing to dread from the *Spaniards*, on the contrary, they would receive presents from them, they approached in crowds. Their persons, inclinations, mode of living, their rudeness and simplicity furnished evident proofs of the uniformity of the ideas and customs, in all the parts which had hitherto been discovered. Of what we call culture and politeness, there was not a single trace to be found. *Columbus*, however, occupied with his own ideas, supposed that he had already found the continent of *India*, and that he was about a hundred miles distant from the renowned town of *Quinsay*. He

was led to suppose this on a comparison of *Toscanelli's* description and delineation with the space he had navigated from his departure from the isle of *Ferro*, which, according to his calculation, which was nearly correct, amounted to one thousand one hundred and forty-two leagues. Besides this, some words of the natives of *Cuba* resembled in sound several names of places and provinces, which he had read in *Marco Polo*; certain signs, according to his interpretation, meant the king of that country; he also supposed from other signs, that an account of his fleet had been given to neighbouring merchants, in consequence of which, he was in hopes that they would soon appear to purchase his toys and trinkets, on which they seemed to set so high a value. Anxious to gain further accounts, he sent *Rodrigo de Xerez*, and *Luis de Torres**, accompanied by a native

* *Luis de Torres* was a converted Jew, who understood the Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabian languages, and who, of course, was qualified to inform the supposed eastern nations, of the wish of the Spaniards to traffic with them. *Herrera*, D. 1, p. 23. T. N.

of *Cuba*, and another of *S. Salvador*, farther into the country, charged with particular instructions to the king in the name of the Spanish Monarch, and allowed them six days to return. In the mean time he caused the ships to be refitted, marked the elevation of the pole with the quadrant, and examined the depth of the river, with the nature of the soil on the shore. Fragrant groves of the richest verdure, filled with the melodious notes of birds, presented themselves in every quarter, with a variety of trees richly laden with delicious fruits. *Columbus* flattered himself with the hopes of finding several aromatic spices of the east, concluding, according to his own settled opinion, that this delicious place could not be very far from the *Indies* or *China*, and what strengthened him in this opinion was, the novelty, and strange shape of the trees, shrubs and herbs, and the misconceived answers of the natives, to whom he was incessantly putting questions. It was accidentally discovered that almost all the fire wood was of the mastic tree, which exuded an odoriferous resin, and according

to the size and number of these trees that were seen, it was calculated that they would produce fifty tons of this precious gum a year, from whence a greater gain might be drawn than from the island of *Scio*, and other isles of the *Archipelago*. The conveniency of the harbour, a rocky cape, which commanded it, and which was very fit for a fort, the temperature of the climate held out so many invitations to commerce.

XVNI. The hopes suggested by these considerations were clouded by the return and narrative of the messengers. They had penetrated about twelve miles into the country, where they met with a village of about fifty houses, and a thousand inhabitants. The houses resembled those on the coast, but rather more spacious, and filled with a greater number of fire places. They were received with every mark of joy, entertained and looked upon as men descended from heaven. The principal house was assigned for their residence, with two seats or artificial benches, each of one piece, in
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the form of a four-footed animal, with short legs, and the tail turned up over the back*.

After *Xerez* and *Torres* had placed themselves upon these seats, and as many of the natives as could conveniently find room, had seated themselves around them on the floor cross-legged, the *Lukayan* delivered a speech, in which he recounted wonders of the visitants. When he had done, some of the inhabitants approached them, some of them touched them, and others kissed their hands and feet. Soon after the men went out, the women repeated the same scene. Some of them concealed their genitals in a net of worked cotton, the rest of the women, as well as men, went entirely naked; nor was there any thing seen that distinguished them from the rest of the savages which they had hitherto seen. They rather seemed to be one and the same species, without any civil order or constitution. A

* *Ferdinand Columbus* tells us, that the eyes and ears of this animal were composed of solid gold, and such seats were called by the natives *Duchi*. *Histor. del Admir.* C. 27. p. 24.

certain distinction of ranks, however, was visible, some seemed of a higher, and one like a sovereign at their head. In the way they found many houses, sometimes four or five in a group, and a number of people of both sexes; the fields were every where richly wooded, and full of plantations, where, according to what they said, *Ages** a kind of vegetable root, Batatas or potatoes, maize and French beans of a darkish red colour were cultivated. They likewise saw fields full of *Yuca*, of the roots of which the most common bread on the islands and continent of *America*, called *Cazabi*, or, as it is now called, *Cazabe*, was made. Cotton was found in abundance in

* *Oviedo* describes this fruit, which *Oldendorp* calls edible Aron (*arum esculentum*) very accurately. See lib. vii. c. 3. They resembled, said he, large turnips, which were greater than the Spanish ones. They served the natives and the negroes, at his time, as common food, either roasted or boiled. The *Spaniards* also liked to eat them very well, dressed several ways. *Martir* also describes them almost in the same words in his letters. They are called *Eddoes* on the British sugar islands.

T. N.

every

every state, raw, spun and wove, and their nets and hammocks were composed of it. It was calculated that one house contained 500 arrobas* of this material, and that they could collect upwards of 400 cwt.† annually. They also saw a number of geese, some small partridges, and many birds different from those they had already seen, particularly one kind that resembled the nightingale in size, and in the melody of its note. A remark which *Columbus* also made, and as it was the month of November, he relates it as rather extraordinary. Our countrymen were not less struck with surprize at a custom entirely new to them, when they saw the men traverse the fields with fewel in their hands, with which they lighted the leaves of certain plants, which

* Arroba, a Spanish weight of 25 pounds.

† The immense quantities of cotton found on the isles of the *New World*, on the arrival of the *Spaniards*, is mentioned with surprize by all the writers of that age. Amongst others, *Ferdinand Columbus* remarks, that one of the natives of *S. Salvador* had given 400 pounds weight of spun cotton for three pieces of copper money.

T. N.

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they called Tabacos, (folded up in each other) at one end, and inhaled the smoke at the other, for which reason the name Tobacco was transferred to the burning herb, a native plant of that part of the globe, where it is much cultivated, as it has become highly valued by all the nations of the *Old World*. The *Spaniards*, however, at the time did not take notice even of the name*.

Their

* It appears from this account, that the *Spaniards* already observed the smoking tobacco on their first voyage, and, of course, much earlier than has been supposed. Some writers are of opinion that *Roman Pane*, the hermit, whom *Columbus* in 1496 left behind him on the island of *St. Domingo*, for the purpose of labouring in the conversion of the inhabitants, was the first that made mention of this practice amongst them. *Fernando Columbus* has inserted the account of the residence of this pious man among the savages in his father's life, entire as he found it. But *Pane* does not mention the word Tabacos, nor yet the smoking of it, at least no trace of it is to be found in his confused narrative. It is only said in one passage, referred to on this occasion, that they filled *cabases* with a certain powder, called cogioba; they then took a pipe about half an arm in length, the one end of which they put into the powder, and the other into the nose, and inhaled it in this manner; it had an
intoxi-

XIX. Their whole aim and object were to discover cultivated countries abounding in aromatic gums, pearls, and metals, especially gold; and in *Cuba* they discovered very few traces of all these things. As often as they enquired after them, the natives pointed to the east, and with exaggerated gestures and expressions, often repeated the words *Babeque* and *Bohio*. As *Columbus* supposed himself to be in the farthest *Indies*; the conjecture was natural enough, that those names might be given to some islands famous for

intoxicating effect, and was considered as possessed of a strong purgative quality. But he says nothing of lighting the powder, or of any smoke produced by it. Perhaps the inhalation of this powder at the nose, gave birth to the fumigation of this sanative plant, for the islanders really smoked their tobacco through their nose, as *Oviedo* has very minutely described. L. v. c. II. They called this mode *Tabaco*, but not the herb itself. The pipes through which they smoked the lighted leaves, according to this writer, were wooden ones, some of which were shaped like the letter Y, the forked end of which was suited to the nostrils. In his days the negroes already had adopted the custom of smoking, and many *Spaniards* also, as they were of opinion that it soothed the pains of the venereal disease. T. N.

their

their treasures, and, perhaps, *Cipango* itself. However, as he felt the air grow cold at night, he did not think it prudent to steer northward in the winter season in pursuit of discoveries. He resolved to sail to the east with some declination to the south, and, in his way, to examine the coast along this direction. Having sailed eighteen leagues, he discovered a cape, which he named *Cabo de Cuba*; two leagues farther from this cape he came into a bay, five leagues S. S. west, from whence, at the distance of about five leagues, he saw an opening betwixt two mountains, which seemed to be the entrance of the sea. Driven off the coast, by the violence of the gales, he navigated fifty-six leagues to the north east. He returned to the coast, and having sailed along it sixty-four leagues, he discovered a deep bay about a quarter of a league in breadth. He sailed up it into a large harbour, with innumerable isles sprinkled round it, lying very high, without cliffs, separated from each other by deep canals, covered with luxuriant grass, and ornamented with trees of various kinds.

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The district of *Cuba* which he had here in view, was really enchanting. The hills and vallies seemed to vie with each other in vegetable wealth and beauty, and to crown the whole, the atmosphere was pure and serene. Delighted with the succession of such beautiful prospects, he remained for five days in this sea, which he called *Nuestra Senora*. They rowed in boats between the isles and the coast; and found great oysters, which appeared to be pearl muscles. The air was strongly scented with musk. Mastic aloes, a number of lofty palms of immense size, nut-trees, and a thousand of unknown plants diversified the scene. The *Spaniards*, intent on the first objects of their voyage, had already calculated that a profitable commerce might be carried on in aromatic and oriental spices, through the medium of this commodious harbour, to which they gave the name of *Del Principe*. The waters appeared to be as prolific as the land was fertile. The seamen caught many kind of fish, and amongst the rest, one that resembled a swine, with a hard shell or coat of mail, which was soft no where but at
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the tail and the eyes. Of birds there was a vast quantity. Of quadrupeds there were only some remarkable. Amongst these one that approached the badger in likeness very much, and a species of large mice, like the Indian ones, which are edible. Some islands were distinguished by cultivation and traces of dwellings, but the inhabitants were very few.

XX. Having erected a large crucifix on an eminence at the entrance of the port of *Del Principe*, the fleet put to sea again on the 19th of November. The shifting and contrary winds compelled them to stand out from the coast, and to steer north north-east into the open main; having sailed five-and-twenty leagues, they found themselves obliged to veer till the 21st, and at last to make for the haven of *Del Principe*, but they did not reach it on account of the unexpected separation of the *Pinta*. *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, the captain of this vessel, had some of the natives of *S. Salvador* aboard, and six others, which he had taken with him from the port of *Mares*, and from them he had received
parti-

particular accounts of the situation and size of *Babeque* and *Bohio*. In order to secure this rich discovery for himself, stimulated by self conceit, and reckoning upon his nautical skill and experience, and the goodness of his vessel as a quick sailer, he availed himself of this last advantage, and separated from the rest on the night of the 22d, without paying attention to the signals. *Columbus's* vessel was a dull sailer, which, with the contrary winds, prevented him from following the *Pinta*, nor was he much inclined to leave a country, which held out so many allurements, till he had examined it with more accuracy and attention; he landed near the bay *Nuestra Senora*, in a harbour on the coast, formed by the mouth of the greatest river he had hitherto discovered, where, according to his opinion, a vast number of ships could ride with the utmost security without anchor. He called it *Santa Catharina*, on account of his having entered it on the eve of the festival of that Saint. The shores of the river were shaded with umbrageous groves, the mountains were lofty, verdant, and crowned with trees,

parti-

particularly pines of an astonishing growth; the air was mild and odoriferous; they found stones spotted with gold and other metals, that bore the appearance at least of such ores. Chains of mountains, as lofty and as beautiful as the former, rose along the coast to the south east. The sea shores were exceedingly pleasant, and watered with many rivers and limped streams. On the 27th they discovered a large village, to which some *Spaniards* were dispatched, to collect what information they could; a number of naked people assembled on the coast---halloing, and menacing defiance with their darts, but at the approach of the boats they ran away affrighted, and as soon as the villagers saw three men land, cloathed from head to foot, they fled their habitations with the utmost confusion.

XXI. About half a mile farther they discovered a harbour superior even to the former, with extensive lawns on every side, as level as the sea in a calm. At the foot of the loftiest mountains, *Columbus*, wooed by the charms of this paradisiac region, tarried there
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four or five days longer, and in his search he found a considerable river, and an immense number of rivulets; crystaline and fresh; their banks were ornamented with waving groves, and odoriferous shrubs. The cedar and the palm aspired in appearance to reign over the rest; of the latter wood large canoes were formed, and some of excellent workmanship lay under an awning or covering of twisted branches, which sheltered them from the weather. One of these canoes peculiarly excited attention. It was ninety-five spans in length, and capable of containing 150 men. It was concluded that they belonged to some people of distinction in that country, which was pretty well cultivated, and rather thickly sown with houses and cottages, some scattered, and others collected into villages. The inhabitants deserted some of them probably through fear. Through the means of one of them, which had been seized, a communication was opened with the inhabitants of a village near the harbour. They all went naked, painted with red, armed with darts and

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lances,

lances, formed of sticks with hard points, or canes with a little sharp pointed stick hardened in the fire. Some wore feathers on their heads, but this was the only mark of distinction; their ornaments and weapons went no farther; they readily parted with those arms, plumes, and all they had in the world for glass beads, little bells, brass rings, and pieces of biscuit; for they laid an inestimable value on every trifle they received from the *Spaniards*; and, it seems, they entertained the same opinion with the *Lucayens*, that these foreigners had descended from heaven, especially when they found that they were treated by them with benevolence and kindness, which virtues were strongly inculcated by the Admiral to his countrymen. One house was distinguished from the rest, as it was larger. The inside particularly was divided by artificial partitions, and the roof or ceiling was ornamented with muscle shells, and several other things. At first it was supposed that it might be the temple of some Idol, but this was refuted by the answers of the natives, and their readiness in pulling down and offering every thing to

Columbus

Columbus that they thought would please him. They likewise presented, says the Admiral, gold, and whatever precious things they had besides. And although he did not find any thing that would bear estimation in *Europe*, yet he hoped to meet something of that kind in the interior of the country. He was strengthened in this opinion, when he alighted on a piece of wax, which, in his judgment, could be only made use of by nations versed in manufactures; but in the course of time, and after the discovery of the continent, it appeared that some wax, unknown to the islanders, could only have been brought by chance to them from the next peninsula of *Yucatan*.

XXII. Our Argonauts fell at every step into fresh errors, because they, without knowing where they were, and without understanding the natives, drew inferences from uncertain and vague accounts. As the hope of discovering rich countries towards the east was encreased by every new mark which their imagination had laid down as such, they left the harbour of *Puerto Santo*,

with the first favourable wind, in order to steer along the coast to east south-east. They had scarce been under sail a day, when they came to a large river, the mouth of which was a hundred paces in breadth, eight fathoms in depth, and the entrance very safe and easy. In all probability it was the harbour of *Baracoa*. The following day they saw a cape to the east, behind which the coast inclined to the south, and afterwards to south-west; this was cape *Mayci*, the eastern point of the island. Here *Columbus*, according to his fixed opinion, imagined he had found, over against the coast of *Portugal*, (the utmost limit of *Europe*) the most eastern part of the continent of *Asia*, and for this reason he called these imaginary limits *Alpha* and *Omega*, i. e. the beginning and the end, to signify the district where the continent began towards the west. He afterwards changed this opinion, however, as appears from his narrative, after his return from the voyage, in which he says that *Cuba* was an island larger than *England* and *Scotland* together, as the northern coast
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of it extended in a right line from west to east upwards of two hundred leagues, of which he had sailed almost the one half, and left only two provinces to be examined, each from 50 to 60 leagues in length. He had collected, he said, this from the accounts of the natives who had accompanied him, and who were acquainted with this Archipelagus. From these circumstances I am at a loss to know which is the more worthy of my admiration, the result which approached so nearly to the truth, though founded on such fallible calculations, or the courage of those islanders who could venture to sail in the hollow trunk of a tree through such large spaces of ocean. Their dexterity in calculating them, the art and inventive mode in which they rendered themselves intelligible, as also the genius and attentive diligence of *Columbus*, who, in the intercourse of a few months, knew how to derive so many advantages from such rude savages. Their relations, it is true, were blended with absurdities or led through misconception into error, especially at the beginning; hence the fable of men in the province of *Nahan*, (one of

the two provinces not yet explored) born with tails; hence also the illusion with respect to the rich country of *Babeque*, which never has appeared. At first they localized it in the east, and when they came to the end of *Cuba* in the north-east.

XXIII. As *Columbus* was about to search for it, fortunately he went a little to the east, and looking every where attentively around him, he espied, to the south-east, a large country, at the distance of about sixteen leagues from the utmost point of *Cuba*. He steered with the more impatience to it, in proportion as the islanders he had on board, particularly those of *Cuba*, strove to dissuade him from it, by the repetition of the word *Bohio! Bohio!* a name by which they had often signified a marvellous island abounding in gold, and which they now repeated with exaggerated gestures; but they described the inhabitants hideous monsters, and man-eaters. *Columbus* interpreted this so, that there might be men of more bodily strength, sense, and mental cultivation, who, perhaps, waged war with the
inhabi-

inhabitants of the other isles, who were unarmed, timorous, and cowards, and of course made them their slaves. This opinion, their prodigious wealth, and the supposition that their country was the eastern coast of the *Indies*, induced him to conclude that this was the rich *Cipango*. In the course of a few hours the ships reached the cape, which is next to the point of *Cuba*; *Columbus* discovered a harbour, and ordered *Vicente Yanez* to sail before with the *Nina* to examine it; this happened on the evening of the 5th of December. The following morning he hoped to enter himself with his heavy ship. At the distance of four leagues, he discovered several capes and bays on the northern coast, which extended to the east, where its end was not yet seen. The land, which rose very high above the surface of the sea, exhibited verdant grounds betwixt the high mountains, mostly cultivated like the fields of *Cordova* in the month of May. The harbour seemed to excel all that he had met with in his voyage. A number of canoes appeared in view, some of them like gallies, or barks, of seventeen benches for rowers,

The shore was beautified with trees of various kinds, weighed down with fruits. As they advanced a little into the country, the ground became picturesque and charming, watered by a gentle rivulet. All these delicious views promised a numerous population, though one house only was seen, but not one inhabitant. The harbour, as well as the cape, were called *S. Nicolas*, after the natal day of that Saint.

XXIV. *Columbus* now steered eastward along the coast, till he came to a harbour, with an island in the front of it. They named this island, from its shape, *Tortuga* (*Tortoise*;) doubtless it was the harbour of *St. Domingo*, afterwards called *Mosquitos*; *Columbus* gave it the name of *de la Conception*, when he took shelter in it on the 8th of December, from a tempest, the eruption of which he anticipated, and which compelled him to remain there for some days. In his course from the harbour of *St. Nicolas*, he perceived trees like scarlet oaks, and several fruit trees resembling those of Europe, afterwards pines and myrtles. The sown fields, at a distance,

looked

looked like wheat and barley; they heard the notes of several birds, especially one that resembled the nightingale. They caught several groundlings, pollards, and other fish frequent in our seas. The prospects, the size, and beauty of this country bore such a resemblance to those of *Spain*, that *Columbus* called this island *Espanola*, as well on account of that resemblance, as out of respect to the nation for whose sake the expedition was undertaken. The natives and the neighbouring islanders used to give it many names, in consequence of its nature, situation, or from certain provinces. *Hayti*, or High Country, on account of the eminence of the soil; *Quisqueya*, or the whole, on account of the amplitude of its extent; *Bohio*, or the House, which perhaps was an allusion to the number, spaciousness, and artificial architecture of the habitations. The best habitations on this island at this day, are called *Bohios*, though they scarce rival the cottages of the peasants in *Spain*. They are formed of light wood-work, covered with branches and shrubs interwove; others are called *Boharques*, composed of piles of wood inserted
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in the earth, and joined at the top in a conical form, or the shape of a tent. The former were very numerous on the island of *Espanola*, and the latter not uncommon; and it is very natural to suppose, that the names of them should be frequently heard in the answers of the islanders, and also that they sounded to the ears of an European like *Babeque*, and thereby occasioned the *Spaniards* to take it for the name of a celebrated country. Likewise the words *Carib*, and *Caniba*, by which the gentle and dismayed inhabitants of the first discovered isles, signified certain isles inhabited by a warlike and cruel race, were mistaken as so many appellations of the same country, under the dominion of the great *Kan*, whose subjects cruised, as it was supposed, amongst those islands. Thus *Columbus* raised the pile of his suppositions, which he had founded on certain ideas, still higher and higher; the picture which his imagination drew of the excellence of this country, was still heightened by the report of those whom he had sent to view it. They described it as a happy and fertile region, the season like spring, the trees in all the bloom of summer,

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and the fruit swelling in all the luxuriancy of autumn; the grass fine and rich, enamelled with flowers of every kind. Some cottages, several places where fire had been, the roads and plantations left no doubt but that there might be inhabitants enough, but none of them was seen till the 12th of December.

XXV. On the same day, after a crucifix had been erected on a prominent point, as usual, three of the crew, in passing over a mountain, unexpectedly espied a group of naked people, who fled in a hurry at the sight of them. They only caught a young well-shaped woman, who wore a little plate of gold in her nose. *Columbus* caused her to be dressed, and gave her glass beads, brass rings, and after having treated her kindly, dismissed her, well pleased, and accompanied by three of the islanders and some *Spaniards*, to her own place of abode, which she noted by pointing to the south-east of the harbour, in order to allure the inhabitants of her place. The messengers came back late at night, without having executed their commission,

for

for which they apologized, as the way was very long. On the following morning, nine armed *Spaniards*, with an islander, were sent off from *S. Salvador*, who, after a journey of near four miles, found a place filled with about 4000 inhabitants, situated in a spacious fertile valley. At the appearance of our countrymen, they all ran away. The islanders called out to them not to be afraid, for those foreigners came from Heaven, and instead of hurting any person, they would give those that came to them many fine things. On hearing this, they began to dismiss their fear, and by degrees they approached all together. Their fear was succeeded by admiration, respect and submission, and each of them freely offered whatever he possessed, fruits, roots, parrots and fish. A troop of them raised the young woman that had been dress'd, on their shoulders, and sounded forth her happiness, as it were, and blessed her for the honour she had received. They were so well pleased with their heavenly guests, that when they saw them prepared to return to the harbour, sorrow and dejection were painted in their looks,

looks. The *Spaniards* were highly pleased with the kindness, simplicity, and openheartedness of these people. They represented them better than the former; they were of a fairer colour, and handsomer shape; particularly two females, who might have been mistaken for *Spanish* women. The grounds and cultured fields excelled, in their opinion, even those of *Cordova*. They found a number of mastic trees, aloe, plantations of cotton-shrubs, but very few traces of gold.

XXVI. The day following, which was the 14th, *Columbus* left the harbour to view *Tortuga*, a little isle, which extended from east to west about five leagues; the ground was very high, but not mountainous, cultivated, and inhabited throughout. He intended to steer to the east, but was compelled by contrary winds to return to the harbour. On the 15th, he sailed out again, and was obliged, on account of the winds, to cast anchor a little farther on the coast, not far from a river, which he rowed up for some distance. He called it *Guadalquivir*,
from

from the similitude which it bore to a *Spanish* river of that name. He discovered some houses, and inhabitants running away. A little up the valley, on both sides of the river, the prospect was so delightful, that it might well be called the name which he gave it; *Val Paraiso*, (the Vale of Paradise.) On the 16th, he cast anchor near a village, at the mouth of a gut, formed by *Tortuga* with *Espanola*. Whilst he sailed through it with a strong wind and high tide, he took one of the natives aboard, who rode on the top of the highest wave with his little canoe. Won by gifts and caresses, he represented the *Spaniards* in such an amiable light, that the inhabitants of both sexes came immediately to them in great numbers. The usual traffic began, with more advantage on the part of our people than heretofore; for here they found a greater store of gold, partly in grain, and partly worked in plates. This metal was hung to their ears and nose, as ornaments, and yet they freely parted with it, for any trifle whatever. Some of them, it is true, were found to be cunning enough to consult their own interest in the exchange of commodities; they divided a leaf of gold, as
broad

broad as the hand, into little pieces, and bartered each singly; but most of them offered their gold without accepting any thing for it; as well as their gourd bottles, filled with water or food, without accepting any thing in return for them. The Admiral was so pleased with the generosity of some, and the craft of others, that in order to satisfy all, he ordered a number of glass beads to be distributed amongst them. Among the number of those that came running along, he distinguished the head or chief of the place, a young man about twenty-one years of age, naked like the rest, but very serious and sober. Some trinkets were offered to him as a present, which he received with the greatest respect from the hand of the *Alguazil Mayor*, and in return, offered whatever his country afforded. Through the medium of an islander, he was informed, that the *Spaniards* came from Heaven, in pursuit of gold, and that they wished to go into any country where it could be found in abundance. He pointed to one, which, he said, was distant two days journey, and which the *Spaniards* took to be *Babeque*.

XXVII. This conversation was interrupted by the arrival of a canoe, with 40 persons, from the isle of *Tortuga*. When the lord, just mentioned, saw that a barter began betwixt the *Spaniards* and those that had just come ashore, he began to be angry, and drove them to their boat again, and they were glad to make their escape, out of the reach of a volley of stones and water. The commerce began afresh, as the ships were detained by the east winds, common in that quarter; some *Spaniards* got on shore to examine the country. The rumour of the arrival of those extraordinary people was diffused, and the inhabitants of other places came to the landing place. A prince of high distinction appeared, followed by more than two hundred men; he went with some of his train aboard the chief vessel; he brought a girdle as a present, much like those that were worn at the time in *Spain*, but wrought in quite a different manner, together with two plates of gold. He left his attendants on deck, and descended with only two of the eldest of them into the cabin, just as the Admiral was at dinner; he sat down with a
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serious air by his side, and uttered several words in a very grave tone. The two men who lay at his feet, spoke a few words also, and looked one time at his mouth, and then at the *Spaniards*. *Columbus* ordered several viands, and some liquors to be presented to him, but he tasted only a little of each, and sent them to his people, who ate of all. After this, the standard of the expedition, the colours with the royal arms, and the portraits of the royal family on a gold coin, were shewn him. At the sight of all these things, he and his two attendants evinced, by gesticulations and signs, much admiration, and an exalted opinion of the *Spanish* nation. Astonished at what they saw and heard, the three savages sometimes spoke among themselves, and sometimes to the *Spaniards*. The prince was presented with a carpet, yellow amber beads, red shoes, and a bottle of orange essence, with which he seemed to be highly pleased. The *Cazique* returned home, borne on a kind of frame, or palanquin, and accompanied by a numerous train; his son followed at some distance, carried in the same manner; his brother

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followed on foot, conducted by two persons of distinction, leaning on each of their arms. The presents given to the prince were carried before him, and each present was carried by a single person.

XXVIII. *Columbus* was highly pleased with the conduct of the inhabitants of this place; he described them as fairer, handsomer, and better shaped than the rest of the savages; mild, obliging, agreeable in conversation, and without any trace of superstition. He looked on them already as vassals of the crown of *Spain*, and not very far from being gathered into the pale of the christian church. He considered the alacrity which they evinced in assisting to erect a crucifix in a conspicuous public place, as a happy omen, and especially as they seemed to imitate the devotions of the *Spaniards* in their religious ceremonies. On this account, he endeavoured by every means to insure their confidence, and hesitated to take an old man with him, for the purpose of shewing him the countries where gold was to be found, and artists able to melt and fabricate it.

XXIX.

XXIX. On the night of the 19th he set sail again, but the wind was so contrary that he could only make six leagues till he came to anchorage in *Luifa*, or the Harbour of *Acul*. *Columbus* called it *Saint Thomas*, in honour of the anniversary of that Saint, which was the day he viewed it. Nature was so indulgent to it, that he was filled with rapture and surprize at the sight. He speaks of it with all the enthusiasm of a youthful poet, as well as of the environs that displayed themselves before him. “ There appeared, said he, on those well-cultivated and populous fields, such a crowd of people, that the ground was hid by men, women, and children, who expressed their joy in every possible manner; they ran to and fro to convey bread of *Yom roots*, (which they called *Ages*) and water, and in a word every thing they had or saw, that the christians seemed to stand in need of; and all this was done with such spontaneity and satisfaction, that it called forth every sensation of admiration and gratitude.” The women, instead of hiding themselves, as they did in other places, were the first who came and brought

fruits of five and six different sorts. During the time that the ships lay at anchor in this place, a continued succession of people came, and amongst the rest, five princes, with their families and different attendants. Convinced that the *Spaniards* were men of heavenly descent, they thought themselves happy to behold them. Presents were brought by all, and many other things promised, if they would condescend to visit their villages. In fact, six *Spaniards* accepted of the invitation, and met with a more friendly reception, if possible, than they had expected; each of the inhabitants brought the most precious thing he had in his house; several pieces of manufactured cotton, parrots, fatted geese, and little pieces of gold. On their return, they were followed by crowds, some of whom loaded them with gifts, and others pressed them to take as much as they were able to carry; they also flocked in great numbers to the ships, some swimming, but the most part in canoes, and the instant they got aboard, they laid their presents at the feet of the *Spaniards*, in order to insure a welcome reception; they offered bread and fish,

and

and water in little earthen vessels, painted red, into which they put a grain of certain feeds like spices, and drank of it. They represented this beverage, thus qualified, as exceedingly wholesome. This seems to be the first account of the *Agi*, or Indian pepper, as also of the earthen drinking vessels, instead of gourd bottles. There were indubitable marks of much gold in this place, and every appearance that it had been sought after by the inhabitants of other countries, who had collected it out of the rivers and rivulets which flowed from the high mountains; very rich mines of this metal were said to exist in a certain province, called *Cibao*. These accounts, and the presents of gold plates, by no means inconsiderable, gave *Columbus* more real pleasure than the similitude of the words *Cibao* and *Cipango* in sound; they filled him with such extacy that he broke out into this exclamation: "Our heavenly Lord, who has all things in his hands, be my help, and give me according to his pleasure." As he was apprehensive that the court would be satisfied with nothing less than the discovery of coun-

tries pregnant with gold, he languished to alight on such, in order to gratify their wish, and to perform his own promise.

XXX. To attain these two objects, he waited with the utmost anxiety for a favourable wind to set sail for these countries. In the interval, an ambassador of *Guacanagari*, a considerable *Cazique*, or petty king of that country, arrived in a large canoe, accompanied with a number of attendants, who requested the Admiral to come with his ships to his shore, and he would give him whatever he wanted. He presented *Columbus* with a girdle, four fingers in breadth, trimmed with white bones like pearls, interspersed with red beads; and a mask, with the ears, tongue, and nose, of gold. It was no easy matter to understand the message, particularly the meaning of the word *Cazique*, which signifies lord or master over the rest. *Columbus* was highly gratified with the presents and the politeness of *Guacanagari*; he said, he should be happy to have it in his power to wait upon him immediately, but time would not permit him to enjoy that pleasure; and of this he informed him

him by his own secretary, whom he sent to him with some other *Spaniards*. This prince resided on the other side of a river beyond *Cape François*, which was then called *Saint Point*, and surpassed all those that had hitherto been seen, on account of the number of habitations as well as the progress in architecture, the regularity of the streets, and a neat, clean, and elegant square. The *Spaniards* were received with great joy and cordiality; men, women, and children assembled in crowds to see and admire them. From the humblest individual to the *Cazique* himself, their was a visible emulation to wait upon and serve their heaven-descended guests, with the best things their houses could afford, in viands as well as cotton cloths, parrots, and pieces of gold. He that received a trifle in return, placed an inestimable value on it. The messengers returned the same day, the 23d of December, notwithstanding the solicitations of the natives, who pressed them by every art that native eloquence could suggest, to favour them a little longer with their presence,

which threw them into a kind of sweet delirium.

XXXI. On the following morning, the squadron bent their sails for the east, with a weak land wind; in a short time they were entirely becalmed, so that they scarcely advanced three leagues the whole day. About seven o'clock at night, as the vessels were veering off a point of land, the sea being entirely unruffled, the Admiral, who had not slept for the last two days, threw himself down on the bed; the crew did the same, as well as the steersman at the helm, and who, contrary to an express order, had committed it to the hands of an inexperienced ship-boy. In the lapse of an hour, the ship, drifted by the tide, struck on a sand bank. The cries of the boy awakened *Columbus*, who speedily ordered an anchor to be cast a-stern. The ship's master and a number of mariners, instead of obeying this command, sprung into the long boat, and hastened to the *Nina*, which was half a league distant. The Admiral soon found the ship was filled with water, and forced by the current on one side,

sides, so that all hopes of saving her were given over, notwithstanding her being lighted and her mast cut down. Fortunately the calm continued, and captain *Vicente Yanez*, acting up to his duty, obliged the disobedient hands to return immediately to the aid of the Admiral; and immediately sent him his own bark, and so *Columbus* and the whole crew were saved.

XXXII. On the 25th, at the break of day, the crew began to carry every thing on shore out of the ship, which was effected with admirable dispatch; a number of the natives, at the command of *Guacanagari*, came and assisted with their canoes. *Columbus* had informed this prince, by the Alguacil Major, and *Pedro Gutierrez*, royal yeoman of the jewel-office, that just as he was about to pay him a visit, his vessel was wrecked within a league and a half of his residence. The generous *Casique*, filled with grief and compassion at the recital of this misfortune, omitted no friendly exertion to comfort and assist the *Spaniards*; not content with the spontaneous zeal of his subjects, he personally attended, and took care

care of the good order and security of every thing conveyed on shore. As soon as it was sufficiently light, he ordered all the goods to be put in a proper place near the village, and entrusted them to the care of an armed body of men, who were to watch over them the whole night; after which they were placed in two large cottages, evacuated for that purpose. The *Cazique* was so much affected at *Columbus's* disaster that he shed tears; he sent one of the most distinguished of his vassals, who endeavoured, with tears in his eyes, to console the Admiral with liberal presents, and the sincerest demonstrations of friendship.

XXXIII. On the following day he paid *Columbus* a visit himself, and repeated his promises and friendly offers in the most expressive manner. At the same time, some canoes, filled with inhabitants from other places, came for the common exchange of gold dust for *Spanish* commodities; a seaman also brought advice that a similar commerce had taken place on the shore, and that the *Spaniards* had profited considerably by it.

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This intelligence began to dissipate the gloom which hung over the face of the Admiral. *Guacanagari* perceived the sudden transition, and guessing the cause of it, instantly informed him that this metal was found in abundance in *Cibao*, which lay at no great distance; that he would procure him plenty of it if he would accompany him to his habitation. *Columbus* accepted the invitation, as well to cheer his spirits, as to examine the nature and richness of the country of *Cibao*, a word that sounded sweetly in his ear, and warmed his imagination. The complaisant and hospitable reception of the inhabitants soon effaced the impression of all the hardships and dangers which he had experienced at sea; nay, even the loss of his ship itself, which he now began to consider as a favourable accident. The *Cazique* treated him with venison, fish, and other food, tarts of *Cazabé*, and several roots and delicious fruits. He ate very sparingly, soberly, and cleanly; and after he had finished his repast, he washed his hands, which he had previously rubbed with certain herbs; after which he conducted the Admiral into winding arbours
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and fragrant groves. On their return from this enchanting promenade, he presented his guest with a mask, with pieces of fine gold suspended from the ears, eyes, nose, and other parts. The neck was ornamented with a number of pieces of the same metal; he also distributed a number of such precious toys amongst the *Spaniards* who had accompanied their leader. *Columbus*, in grateful return, presented a number of *European* trinkets, which the islanders valued as something divine, and which they repeatedly shewed about, repeating in a kind of transport the word *Turey*, which, in their language, signifies Heaven. They believed themselves capable of discerning the most pure gold by the smell, from the inferior kind which they called *guanin*, and when they received some pieces of brass, silver, or any white metal, they smelled to them, and declared them to be *Tarey* of inestimable value, and gave pieces of *Guanin* to them as well as the finest gold. They were chiefly captivated with bells, for which they readily gave all that they possessed; they danced and leaped to the sound of them in a grotesque manner; though

though they did not despise any thing that came from the hands of our countrymen, whom they reverently worshipped. A little latchet, the head of a nail, were valued by them as the most precious gifts. The *Cazique* was not less rejoiced and transported at the present of a shirt and a pair of gloves than the rest of the people.

XXXIV. Such demonstrations of simple honesty, friendship, and hospitality, the amenity of the clime, the fertility of the soil, and above all, the hopes of enriching themselves in a short time with gold that was so easily to be procured, rendered the great inconvenience of returning to *Spain* altogether in the same caravel rather welcome and agreeable, so that many offered, many even solicited to be permitted to stay there amongst the natives, and to become the first colonists. *Columbus* complied with their wishes and requests, and promised himself much influence from this establishment at court, and a greater certainty of executing the great plan which he had in view, of aggrandizing the state, and propagating the christian

christian religion. Under this impression, he wrote these words in a letter to the King and Queen: "I hope to God Almighty, that after my return to *Spain*, I shall find a ton of gold gained by exchange, the gold and spice mine discovered, and such abundance of it, that before the expiration of three years, the conquest of *Jerusalem* may be undertaken, for which purpose, the profits of my enterprize, as I did protest to your highness, shall be employed." Neither the extent of the island, which he looked on to be larger than *Portugal*, nor the number of its inhabitants deterred him from his design. For even supposing that the timorous unarmed natives should lose the first impression of respect to their supposed heavenly visitants, and conspire to their destruction, yet a few *Spaniards* thought themselves able and sufficient to subdue them.

XXXV. This resolution was strengthened by fresh demonstrations of the friendship of the *Cazique Guacanagari*. On the morning of the 27th, he paid another visit to the Admiral on board the caravel, and conversed with him

him till after dinner. He watched every opportunity of consoling and caressing him, promised to cover him entirely with gold before his departure, but urgently requested him at the same time to stop with him, and to favour him with the pleasure of his company. A subordinate motive of this entreaty was, perhaps, the fears with which the natives were filled from the *Caribs* of the other isles, and the desire of seeing them destroyed by our people. *Columbus* endeavoured to fan these hopes by informing the *Cazique*, that he had determined to leave part of his men on the island, as auxiliaries, till he returned from *Spain* in a short time with a greater force, and many precious articles as presents. In order to impress the more deeply the idea of the superior force of the *Spaniards* on the minds of the natives, and to encrease their love and fear for the *Spanish* colony, he formed several sham fights, and combats with every kind of *European* weapons, which had the desired effect. The clashing of the swords, the shooting of bows, the discharge of muskets, and above all, the thunder of the cannon,

cannon, and the force of a ball, which penetrated the side of the stranded vessel, excited terror and astonishment in the breasts of those simple islanders, who fell altogether on the ground at the report of a cannon. All these circumstances induced him to relinquish all ideas of a fortress. To display, however, the superior genius of their guests, and to provide for the most perfect security of the colony, he caused a wooden tower, with a fosse round it, to be erected. The *Spaniards* were so actively employed in the erection of this work, in which they were aided by the *Hayties*, at the command of *Guacanagari*, that it was almost entirely completed in a few days. The wreck of the ship composed the chief materials of it. He called this tower, or fort, *Navidad*, which name he also gave to the harbour and the vicinity, in honour of Christmas day, the day on which the crew had landed and escaped the danger of the sea.

XXXVI. In the mean time the captain lost no opportunity of drawing the ties of friendship still closer betwixt the *Cazique* and

and himself, and of winning the favour of his principal vassals, amongst whom he distributed several garments, and other gifts. He also continued to avail himself of their fears by the exercise of arms. On their part they continued to make presents of gold plate, and to entertain their new visitors, according to their manner, with great splendor. The first house in the village, with some others, was set apart for the entertainment of the *Spaniards*. They spread out mats of *Yaguas*, or webs of palm filaments, by way of carpets, with low backed chairs, made of a kind of black and shining wood like agat. As often as *Columbus* landed in his bark, a brother of the *Cazique* usually went to meet him, led him to the most honourable seat, and informed his brother of his arrival. Or the *Cazique*, who generally appeared in company of other Lords, immediately came to the shore himself; thus he appeared on the 30th of December in great splendor, with a crown of gold on his head, encircled by five *Caziques* of inferior rank, who probably had but just arrived, and each with a golden crown.

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He ushered him by the arm into the house already mentioned, and having conducted him to his seat, after many respectful ceremonies, he took the crown off his head, and placed it on that of his highly respected guest. In requital, *Columbus* threw a cloak around him, bound a string of various coloured glass beads round his neck, put a silver ring on his finger, and ordered half boots to be drawn on his legs, a finery of immense value in the eye of the prince.

XXXVII. During these feasts he did not omit to enquire diligently after the gold mines, which was however of little use, as his questions, and their answers, were not understood. Among some names of the *Caziques* and provinces, where, according to their representation, they would be found in abundance, he always heard the word *Cibao*, which raised the idea in him of its being the oriental *Cipango*; from whence it came, that he caused the plants to be accurately examined, in order to find the precious spices of the *Indies*; that he preferred the

the *Agi*, or red peper, to the *Malagete**; or fine black peper, and that he gave such easy credit to *Vicente Yanez*, who pretended to have found the rhubarb plant. He would fain have staid longer, to make closer examinations, to cross the coasts of *Espanola*, and other islands, and to collect a ton of gold in the way, which he hoped to acquire easily by traffic; but he wisely moderated his wishes, as he was now reduced to one ship, and was in danger of not being able

* *Malagete*, or grains of Paradise, is the name of a piquant peper-like spice, which the *Portuguese* found among the negroes on their first navigation to *Africa*, and which they mistook for oriental peper, from which one part of *Guinea* at this day is called the *Peper Coast* or *Malagete*. According to *Rui de Pina*, *Chronica del Rey Ioão II.* in *Collec de livros ineditos de historia Portuguesa*, &c. Vol. II. p. 74, this king sent the *Guinea* peper to *Flanders*, and other maritime countries, in order to know whether it was the true oriental sort. After the discovery of the *East Indies*, and especially when the *Portuguese* monarchs declared the peper trade to be a monopoly of the crown, the exportation of the grains of Paradise was prohibited, and at present they are no longer an article of trade; but in the days of *Columbus* they were in general use in *Portugal* and *Spain*.

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to carry the account of his fortunate discovery to *Europe*, if he should meet with such another accident as that which had just befallen him. He was also apprehensive that *Martin Alonso* was lost, for though he had been assured by several islanders that they had seen him on a river, towards the east, yet he entertained doubts of meeting him again, as a seaman whom he had sent in quest of him, with a letter to bring him back, with every persuasion that he could add, returned with information, that he had not discovered the least trace of him for twenty leagues. And supposed he had arrived in *Spain*, *Columbus* was apprehensive he would disseminate falsehoods, as an apology for the baseness of his conduct, the cause of the loss of so many goods. He resolved therefore, without loss of time, for the sake of his honour, to depart without delay, in order to communicate to the whole world the joys and benefits which the divine bounty had bestowed upon him during his first expedition.

XXXVIII. Whilst the caravel was fitting out, and provided with stores of wood, water, cazabé,

cazabé, ages, salt-fish, venison, and other provisions, which the *Cazique* liberally supplied, he took care of every thing that was necessary for the settlement of the infant colony. He chose for the first colonists thirty-nine persons, most of them volunteers, and such as were best calculated to endure hardships, among whom there were several handicrafts, viz. a ship-carpenter, cooper, artist, and a taylor, with a surgeon. He appointed *Diego de Arana* captain or governor over the whole, and *Pedro Gutierrez* his lieutenant and successor, after his death; and in case of the demise of the latter, the office was to devolve to *Rodrigo de Escobedo*. He left them the long boat, the arms and ammunition of the main ship, great store of wine, biscuit, and all that could be spared of European provisions, and also all that remained of wares and trinkets, in order that they might exchange them for gold. He commanded them very strongly to continue sailing along the coast, in order to find out a more convenient place of plantation and trade, because he was not satisfied with that harbour, now called *Cape Francois*,

or *Guarico*, on account of the number of sand-banks and shallows with which it abounded, and which rendered the sailing in and out rather difficult. He desired them to sow European seeds, examine the origin of the gold, learn the language of the natives, cultivate their friendship, and endeavour to become acquainted with all the metals and spices of the country. He enjoined them by every tie of sacred duty to pay due obedience to the captain or governor, and above all things, to live together in the utmost harmony and friendship, not by any means to part from each other, or to venture into unknown countries out of the dominions of *Guacanagari*, the continuance of whose friendship might be easily secured by kind and gentle behaviour; to avoid giving any offence to his people, particularly the women, but by due moderation and decency to keep this simple nation in that harmless illusion, by which it would continue to believe them half Gods. He admonished them to behave like true Christians, to be thankful to Almighty God for the blessings they had received, as so many earnest

earnests of future favour, if they deserved it. He represented to their considerations the many hardships they had suffered during their voyage, the inexpressible joy they felt at the sight of the first island, the brilliant prospects opened to them by the discoveries they had already made, and the indispensable necessity of facing with firmness every adversity; great objects were only to be obtained at the price of arduous labour and trouble. Finally he assured them, that he would incessantly feel the warmest concern for them, and should not rest till he saw them again, and that he would bring them whatever they might want, with distinguished rewards, which he thought he might certainly promise them from their Majesties. They all shewed the utmost willingness and unanimity to act conformably to his admonitions; the farewell scene was truly affectionate and tender, the noble *Cazique* participated of it, but he was very much consoled and pleased with the settlement of the *Spaniards* in his dominions.

 BOOK IV.

I. **C**OLUMBUS left the port of *Navidad* on the 4th of January, 1493, sailing along the coast to the east, charmed with the beauty of the shore, which was quite flat for four miles into the country, and thronged with villages, which warmed his imagination afresh with the opinion that this island must be the *Cipango* delineated on the chart of *Toscanelli*. On the following day he passed a considerable hill, which rises at the extremity of a peninsula, about eighteen leagues off *Cabo Santo*, in the form of a corn stack or round tent. He gave it the name of *Monte Christi*, which it bears at this day, though it is likewise called *Granja*. He landed at the western side of this cape, in a bay where the *Yaque* empties itself into the sea, which at that time was called the *Gold River*, because a quantity of grains of gold of the size of lentils had
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been found in the sand. On the 6th he continued his course and met with the *Pinta*, which came from the opposite road with a favorable wind. *Martin Alonso* readily joined with him, in the hopes of forgiveness for his misconduct, and improper behaviour. He endeavoured to excuse himself, by laying the fault on the strong winds, which compelled him, quite contrary to his will, to sail to the east, where he had discovered seven isles, which in all probability were *Inagua*, some little isles of the *Caycos*, and other neighbouring ones to *Abreojos*, or the shallows of *Babueca*. From this quarter he said, he had sailed three weeks ago to *Espanola*, and traded with the natives at several places, chiefly at the mouth of a river, where he had stopped for sixteen days. But this very narrative betrayed the falsity and weakness of his apology; the experience and time spent in this navigation clearly shewed that he was actuated by avidity, as he had navigated against the prevailing wind. Besides this, it appeared by what was told by the crew of the ship, that after having been disappointed with respect to the rich island
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of *Babeque*, which they could not find, they came to the isle of *Hayti*, whither they were conducted by the *Lucayans*; and that *Martin Alonso*, by traffic with the king of that place, had acquired a considerable quantity of gold, of which he kept the one half for himself, in his quality of captain, and distributed the other amongst his people, in order to insure their adherence and gratitude. *Columbus* after all received him with great friendship, and had the address to conceal his resentment, which was a part he had been obliged to act several times before, lest the haughtiness and ambition of the *Pinzons* should excite an insurrection, which would hazard the fruits of his labour, and the fortunate advantages of his discoveries; on this account, he wished to get rid of his companions, and to return to *Spain* without delay.

II. He landed again in the harbour of *Monte Christi*, in order to water at *Yaque*; and on the 9th of January he began his voyage to the east, having resolved to postpone, till another opportunity, the search after the gold mines, the traces of which were visible

visible on the sands of this river, as well as the examination of the delightful fields which widely expanded themselves to his enchanted eye. He descried at a distance in the sea, three kinds of hideous fish, with heads somewhat human like. He had already observed some of this species on the coast of *Guinea*, and took them to be the old fabulous syrens, though stripped of those beauties with which poetic fiction has embellishd them. Perhaps they were seals (*Manaties.*) But he was still more surpris'd at the sight of the large tortoises, which they caught fifteen leagues off *Monte Christi*, near a cape called *Punta Roia*, (the red point.) On the 10th, both ships entered the mouth of the river *Martin Alonso*, which name *Columbus* changed into *Gracia*, but it has preserved the former name after its discover. *Martin Alonso* had seized by force on four men, and two young women, whom he carried along with him. The Admiral caused them to be set at liberty again, and to be cloathed and presented with many trinkets. In such a way he conceived himself bound to act, agreeably to the will of their Majesties towards their vassals, for he
ranked

ranked all the inhabitants of the discovered countries in that class, especially those of the island abounding in gold, where he had left a colony of *Spaniards*. The next day he discovered a good harbour at the foot of a mountain, which was, as it were, entirely veiled in silver clouds, on which account he gave to both the name of *Monte y puerto de Plata*, (the Mount and Port of Silver.)

III. He continued his course with a favourable wind and current, and arrived on the 12th at *Cabo del Cabron*, which he called *Cabo del Enamorado*; he cast anchor in the large bay or gulph of *Samana*, which the sea forms to the south, at the end of the northern coast, in order to observe the opposition and conjunction of certain stars, which he expected to appear in four days after; and at the same time to take in fresh water, and to provide himself with some refreshments. The shore was beautiful, shaded with abundance of mastic-trees, cotton-shrubs, and many plantations of *ages* and *peper*, which drew the attention of the *Spaniards*. Here they found
some

some inhabitants, who were quite different in aspect and form from those they had already seen. Their visages were black, their hair long and tied behind, with plumes of feathers plucked from parrots, and other birds, on their heads, each armed with a bow and arrow, and instead of a sword, a hard heavy stick two inches thick. They stood prepared to fight with a kind of wild and fierce courage, but when they found themselves treated in a friendly manner, they came near, and exchanged two bows and some arrows, and one of them was even prevailed upon to come on board. *Columbus* endeavoured to win him over, and presented him with some *European* victuals and trinkets. He put several questions to him, partly by signs, and partly through the medium of the *Lucayan* interpreters, to which he answered in the same way, though the answers could not be understood. He gave an account of countries, in which pieces of *Guanin* were to be found, as big as the half of the stern of the ship, and a fabled island inhabited only by women, who sometimes held an intercourse with the *Caribs*,
 who

who after their deliverance kept the daughters, and sent the sons to their fathers. The only certain intelligence he gave was the situation of the *Caribee* islands, which he pointed out as lying to the east. Nay, these islanders were supposed themselves to belong to that race. The fierceness of their countenance, their rough and proud language, their intrepidity, the magnitude of their bows and arrows, every thing tallied with the description which the former harmless, and inoffensive islanders had given of their cruel enemies.

IV. The supposition was confirmed by an occurrence which happened soon after. When seven *Spaniards* went on shore, with the native who had been so kindly treated on board, they observed fifty-five bow-men concealed amongst the trees on the beach. The native persuaded his countrymen to lay down their arms, and to come up to the *Spaniards*, who, according to the command of the Admiral, began to purchase bows and arrows; they had already got two, but when they desired more, the savages,

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perhaps, suspecting some ill design, took themselves to their arms, on a sudden, and seemed determined to seize on the foreigners, by means of their weapons and a kind of ropes. The *Spaniards* immediately attacked them with violence, and having wounded two, one of them on the posteriors with a heavy blow, and the other lightly on the breast, the rest ran off in fright. They would have killed many of them, if the pilot had not stopt them in their pursuit after the fugitives. Though *Columbus* was displeased with this affair, yet, on the other hand, he was glad of a victory obtained by a few men over such expert and gallant archers, and that if communicated to the rest of the natives, it would command respect for the *Spaniards*; the event turned out as he had predicted. The next morning many of the inhabitants came to the shore without any marks of hostility, and amongst the rest a person of high distinction, as could be easily perceived, who presented the *Spaniards* that came on shore in a boat, with a kind of beads, as tokens of peace,

and

and went confidently on board with three of his attendants. Several questions were put, and answers and accounts given relative to the gold on that, and the neighbouring islands of *Martinio* and *Carib*; they were treated with biscuit and honey, and presented with glass beads and other trinkets, with which they went on shore much satisfied. The *Cazique* promised to send a crown of gold on the following day, and kept his word. During the whole of these two days, the natives successively came to exchange their cotton, bread, roots, and other victuals, for our toys, but were all armed, whence this bay received the name of *Flechas*, (Arrows.) At length four young fellows came on board, who unfortunately for themselves, in one sense, evinced evident proofs of their good understanding, as they answered every question that was put to them without the least embarrassment. The Admiral finding they were very fit persons to answer his purpose, resolved to carry them, with six or seven other men of different islands, along with him to *Spain*.

V. On the 16th of January he set sail, without waiting for the state of the planets, to the influence of which the astrologers of the barbarous age ascribed a thousand marvellous things, but what alarmed him most of all was, the vast quantity of water which the two vessels drew, and the incessant labour of the crew in consequence of it. He wished, it is true, to view the isles of *C. Juan*, or, as it was afterwards called, *Martinino*, the *Caribs*, so much dreaded, and many others marked by the *Haytites*. But he thought proper to give up this wish, and to bend his course directly for *Spain*, east north-east, though in the beginning he was obliged to shape it rather to the north, and to sail with a side wind, on account of the easterly gales. Up to the latter end of January, he made about 460 leagues, somewhat more than a league an hour. On the 18th the sea was found to swarm with tunnies, and other great fish, for three days incessantly, at the end of which they began to disappear. As their provisions already decreased, and there was nothing left but wine, bread, and

Ages; now and then a tunny or shark was caught and drest, which in a certain degree supplied their encreasing wants, and so far relieved the crew. The tardiness of the voyage was often relieved by the sight of several birds, and still more so by the mild agreeable air, and the calmness of the sea, circumstances which often made the religious Admiral burst forth into thanks unto Almighty God.

VI. On the first of February, favourable gales began to advance their eastern course. The sky became overcast with clouds, but the fine weather soon returned again, and at the end of the fifth, the sight of some storm birds excited hopes of the speedy prospect of land; but *Columbus* did not cherish these hopes till the eleventh, when he had sailed two hundred leagues farther. He did not merely rely upon the calculation of his journal, which, however, he noted with great accuracy, but called into his aid the observation of the time, when he had steered through the retarding sea-grass, which was frequently seen from
Samana,

Samana, and seemed only to extend to the equator, where those maritime meads were first discovered on the outward voyage; namely, 263 leagues west of the isle of *Ferro*. *Vicente Yanez*, and the pilots *Ruiz*, *Nino*, and *Roldan*, who were on board the *Nina*, reckoned on an erroneous calculation of being about eight degrees nearer the east:

VII. On the 12th, every one was disposed to believe that they were already near some harbour, either on the *Azores*; according to the just judgment of the Admiral; or *Madeira* or *Puerto Santo*, or some of the *European* countries, according to the supposition of other seamen: A violent storm burst forth, and continued with such encreasing rage, that it was expected every moment, for three days together, that both caravals would go to the bottom. The sport of winds and waves, they now separated from each other, and each thought the other lost, and expected every moment to share the same fate. Having resigned all hopes from human aid, they implored the assistance of the Supreme Being. Those who were on board the *Nina*, as well

the Admiral himself, vowed to walk a pilgrimage, according as the lot should fall upon each, one to the holy house of *Loretto*, another to that in *Guadaloupe*, and a third to pass a whole night in prayer in *Santa Clara de Moguer*. In addition to this vow, they promised besides to walk barefooted in procession, with penitential garments, to any church dedicated to the holy Virgin, on the first land they should reach. The heavens, nevertheless, seemed inexorable to prayers and vows, the swelling surges rolled over each other mountain high, and every wave threatened to overwhelm the ship, which was still more exposed to the rage of the billows, from her lightness, as the provisions were consumed, and she was without ballast, which they had neglected to take in on setting out, lest they should lose the favourable wind; this act of imprudence could only be remedied, in a certain degree, by filling the empty casks with salt-water. Notwithstanding all the skill, dexterity, and contrivance of the Admiral, who never lost his presence of mind, the dread and danger encreased, on the night of the 15th of Feb-

February, they rose to the highest degree. The tempest acquired additional strength, and the waves additional fury. *Columbus* fancied in his sorrowful mind, that Divine Providence had decreed to put an end here to his mortal existence, and to bury his glorious deeds in eternal oblivion. But the lamentations and reproaches of the crew affected him more than the image of death, They accused themselves of their confidence in a vain ambitious man, who had exposed them to inevitable destruction. His heart was wrung with the most poignant distress, as often as he reflected that his children would become orphans, that posterity would sneer at his memory, and that mankind would be deprived of the inestimable benefits which his discoveries promised. The more anxious his wishes were to see them conferred on the world, his discouragement increased in proportion. He felt, however, and reproved his weakness, and lifting his afflicted heart to God, he hoped, through the mercy of Divine Providence, to see the accomplishment of his wishes. In this situation, he wrote thus in his journal, “ God

Almighty inspired me with the idea of the voyage, his goodness alone removed infinite difficulties and obstacles, till it was accomplished. He filled me with courage and fortitude to contend with my companions, who, on having resolved to return, rose up in insurrection against me, and at last made me find what I sought and desired. He will finish his work, what have I to fear? but weakness and anxiety weigh down my soul."

VIII. Whilst his mind was affected with such thoughts, and with the distressing idea that the *Pinta* had suffered wreck, he bethought himself of an expedient, by which, in case his ship should not survive the tempest, the account, and advantages arising from his successful discoveries, might, perhaps, be waisted to *Spain*, and reach his sons, so that his memory would be handed down to posterity with honour and gratitude. He wrote a short account of his voyage and discoveries, folded it up and put his seal on it, with a superscription to their Majesties of *Castile*, and a promise of a thousand ducats reward to the person who should deliver it unopened to their

their Majesties, on which he wrapped it up in a piece of fear-cloth, entirely covered it with wax, and put it into a tight little chest, water proof, and threw it into the sea. He preserved a duplicate of this account in another chest, which he kept on board, that it might have a better chance of being found, if the ship should happen to sink nearer the *European* coasts. The tempest began to abate after a heavy shower of rain, which fell in consequence of the wind changing to the west. On the fifteenth, early in the morning, they discovered land at the distance of five leagues; it was the isle of *Santa Maria*, the most southern one of the *Azores*. But as the wind changed, and the billows began to swell again, they weathered it out with great difficulty, and could not cast anchor till the night of the 17th. The place, however, was so unfit to moor, that they were obliged to commit themselves to the mercy of the ocean once more, with the loss of an anchor. At last by sun-rise they landed on the northern coast. The *Portuguese*, who inhabited the isle, were astonished that such a little ship should be

able to weather out such a dreadful storm. They did not express less admiration and pleasure at the wonderful accounts of the voyage, which they had received from three *Spaniards*, who were sent on shore in a boat. The governor of the island, *Juan de Castaneda*, detained them under the pretext of the delight which their narratives afforded him. He sent three men in their stead aboard, with fowls, new baked bread, and other refreshments, together with his salutations and respects to the Admiral.

IX. On the following day, *Columbus* ordered one half of the crew, according to the vow made in the storm, to walk barefooted to a hermitage consecrated to the Holy Virgin. *Castaneda* was informed of the pilgrimage by his messengers, who were to engage a priest to read mass, and whilst the devout *Spaniards* were offering up their prayers, he surprized them with armed men, and made them all prisoners. *Columbus* awaited their return with anxiety, that he might perform his vow with the rest of his people. His mind foreboded some sad
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misfortune from their delay, and when the clock struck eleven, and no sign of their appearance, he steered to a point of land, from whence he could see the chapel. He perceived some armed *Portuguese* get into his boat, and row towards the ship. They approached with their captain at their head, but only so far as to be understood. Farther they would not attempt to advance, notwithstanding they had demanded and obtained a promise of safety, because they feared the snare that really was laid for them, under the guise of flattering and friendly words. When the Admiral saw himself disappointed in the hopes of receiving his men back again, and that *Castaneda*, after several questions and counter-questions, could not be prevailed on to restore them, he upbraided him with his mean treachery, menaced him with the disgrace that his conduct would bring on him from his Sovereign, and the vengeance of the *Castilians*; declaring upon oath, that he would not quit the caravel, till he had carried away one hundred *Portuguese*, as a reprisal. Several of them answered that they cared as little for the vengeance of
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the *Castilian Kings*, as they did for the menaces of their Admiral, as he was pleased to call himself. In addition to the low insulting language, the Governor said, that what he had done was in obedience to the will of the King, his master,

X. *Columbus* supposed from these words, that hostilities had broken out betwixt the two powers, as if the jealousy and political interest of the Court of *Lisbon* could not dictate such orders in time of peace. When the *Portuguese* returned to shore, he found himself under the necessity of returning to the place he had first anchored, but the anchorage was so bad, and the storm increased to such a degree, that the vessel broke from her moorings, so that she lost her anchors. It seemed less dangerous to put to sea again, than to attempt to remain in so dangerous a place. The tempest grew more violent. The distress and labour of the crew also increased, as the greater part of the hands, it may be recollected, were on shore. On the morning of the 21st, the storm began to subside, this induced him to return to
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the harbour, with an intent to purchase the anchors, if possible, and to regain his men, who had been so perfidiously imprisoned, together with the boat. He was happy enough to attain his end. Five seamen and two priests came on board, under a promise of safety, with a Notary, requesting a sight of the royal letter, by virtue of which he was authorized to undertake the voyage. The Admiral, conscious of the delicacy of his situation, suppressed his resentment, and shewed it to them, and immediately his men and boat were restored. The latter informed him of the great danger his person would have been exposed to if he had fallen into the hands of the *Portuguese*.

XI. To avoid other disagreeable consequences, he set sail on the 24th, destitute of wood and ballast, neither of which he was able to procure. For the first three days the wind was favourable, on the two following the wind was contrary, and blew a very boisterous gale. On the 1st of March, the wind shifted again to a favourable point, but became more violent in proportion as they

they approached the *Spanish* coasts. On the night of the second to the third, as they were near the long wished for shore, a hurricane on a sudden arose, the sails were shattered in pieces, and the vessel every moment was expected to sink into the abyss of destruction. The rolling surge, the vivid flashes of lightning, and successive peals of thunder united to render the tempest the most tremendous and awful, and sufficient to affright the most intrepid mind. The storm continued for the whole day, with unremitting rage, and encreased as the night approached. The ship, deprived of her canvas, was consigned to that providence, which had so frequently manifested itself in favour of the crew. In this distressful situation, in which they betook themselves to prayer, supplications, and religious ceremonies, their depressed hearts were suddenly elevated with the sight of land towards midnight; they kept themselves in great distress, with much ado at sea, through the fear of running on some unknown place, and suffering shipwreck, after all the dangers they had escaped. At break of day they perceived the rock of *Sintra*,
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and got safe into the *Tagus*. From *Cascaes* to the entrance of the harbour, they were welcomed with reiterated congratulations by crowds of people, who had discovered the ship in the morning, with faint hopes that she would ever be able to make the harbour. And as they joined in prayer for their deliverance, so they now joined the *Spaniards* in thanksgiving. The pious Admiral discerned and felt the interposition of Divine Providence in all the dangers and difficulties which he had encountered in this voyage, and this induced him to hope that God had chosen him as an instrument to conduct the most glorious enterprize the Christian world ever witnessed. A pilgrimage which had been vowed in the last tempest by lot, fell upon the Admiral, and two of his companions, in consequence of a similar vow in the *Azores*.

XII. After he had reposed a little from the calamities and fatigues he had undergone, he informed our monarch of his arrival, and at the same time he sent to request the permission of the king of *Portugal*

Magal to come to *Lisbon*, in order to procure some necessaries, as well as to avoid some dangers to which he might be exposed in an uninhabited place. In order to lull the jealousy of the court of *Lisbon*, he said, he did not come from *Guinea*; nor any other part of the *Portuguese* colonies; but from *Cipango*, and the *Indian* frontiers, which he had discovered towards the west; that he had discovered countries in those regions, the most happy imaginable, in point of season, fertility, and wealth; the air constantly mild and salubrious, seas only moved by gentle breezes, on which the very trees and herbs expanded their verdant foliage on the waters, countries that boasted all the qualities of the blessed clime, in which God had placed the garden of Paradise, which, according to divines and philosophers, was situated at the end of the east. He maintained this opinion in conformity to his imagination, and in defiance of the sentiments of the learned, he drew over the common people to this belief. The report of these wonderful discoveries was diffused with great rapidity over all *Lisbon*. Curiosity was

was still more excited by an incident which happened aboard the guardship in the harbour of *Belen*. *Columbus* was summoned, according to custom, to appear on board of this ship, in order to give an account to the Minister of Finance, and to the head commander, of the cause of his arrival in the harbour. But *Columbus* answered, that in his quality as Admiral to the King of *Castile*, he did not consider himself obliged to comply with this ceremony, and for this reason he also refused to depute any person in his bark for that purpose. He condescended, however, to transmit his letters patent, on which, Captain *D. Alvaro de Acuna* appeared with great pomp, with the sound of drums, pipes, and trumpets, to hail his arrival. An innumerable multitude came running to gaze at the illustrious discoverer, and the rare things he had brought along with him, especially the *Indians*: for this name was already given to the islanders who had accompanied him from the new discovered countries, which were likewise called the *Indies*. All these things raised their astonishment, and exalted the magnitude of the enterprize, and the happiness of the

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Catholic kings, whom they praised as worthy of such bright rewards, for their endeavours to advance the propagation of the true religion.

XIII. In the mean time orders arrived from the court, which resided at *Valdeparaiso*, contiguous to *Santaren*, to furnish *Columbus* and his crew with all necessaries in abundance, at the expence of the treasury. And *Columbus* himself was honoured with a letter from the king, in which he congratulated him on the success of his fortunate voyage, and invited him to come to court. *Columbus* immediately set out for this purpose, with apparent pleasure, but with secret distrust. He was received with peculiar splendor and honour, and was indulged to sit covered before the king. He spoke freely and ingenuously of the success of his voyage, depicting the excellent qualities of the discovered countries in all the lively colours of his peculiar and creative imagination. The courtiers declared this candour to be rather unbecoming, and bordering on boldness, impoliteness and pride, and that the wonderful
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relations were exaggerated, for the purpose of afflicting and throwing blame on the Monarch who had forfeited the benefits of these discoveries, by having rejected the proposal of the plan of the expedition, and depreciated the author of it. But the generous King granted him several interviews, spoke with him in a friendly manner, loaded him with every demonstration of honour and clemency, and caused him to be treated in every respect like a grandee. On the other hand, his Majesty was truly penfive and sorrowful, because he believed the great object which the *Portuguese* had been so ardently in pursuit of, had been already taken possession of by the *Castilians*; for that the *Spaniards* had already been on the islands, or eastern countries of *Asia*, and that the men brought along with them were from those parts, he did not entertain the least doubt, as they had not the crisped hair, black complexion, or the features of the inhabitants of *Guinea*; on the contrary, they entirely resembled the natives of *India*, according to every account. He consoled himself, however, with the hopes of being able to maintain his pretended claims to the

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whole *Indies*, and the adjoining seas, which were founded on grants from the Pope, and existing treaties betwixt both courts, and to carry them into effect either by negotiations or force of arms*. The Prince was advised to avail

* The Pope presented the *Portuguese*, at several times, particularly in 1443, 1452, 1454, and 1455, with the countries of the *Saracens*, and those of the *Pagans* in *Africa*. In the first bull, he permitted the bishops only to mark all those with the crucifix, who would voluntarily engage in the crusades to north *Africa*, or contribute money, to the expences of this expedition, and to grant them indulgence without injuring the rights of the *Spaniards*, however, to those countries inhabited by the *Saracens*. But when the *Portuguese* discovered the unknown western countries of this part of the world, such as *Guinea*, and several islands, he allowed them, in 1454, all the countries of the heathens, from the cape of *Bajador*, and those that they might discover beyond it, in consequence of their having already spent five and twenty years, and a great deal of money in these expeditions, and especially as they possessed themselves of them first, and above all, that they would be enabled to continue the war against the *Mahomedans*, through the acquisition of these new discoveries. He restricted all christian monarchs from navigating those seas, without the permission of the King of *Portugal*, but what was more, he permitted the latter to keep the miserable natives in eternal slavery.

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himself

himself of a still more easy and expeditious mode of getting out of this embarrassment. Some of his courtiers persuaded him that the *Castilians* would not prosecute these discoveries, unless *Columbus* once more led the way; they offered, therefore, to pick a quarrel with him, and to dispatch him. These were the politics of those days, to propose a base and cowardly assassination, to a Prince that was reckoned virtuous, as a demonstration of loyalty and adherence. But the just King was so far from listening to such a horrid proposition, that he offered *Columbus* every thing he wanted, or whatever he thought might contribute to the utility of the catholic Kings, and then he parted with him in the same kind manner in which he had received him. Not content with that, he sent a messenger after him, to assure the Admiral; that if he wished to go by land to *Spain*, he had given orders for a guard to accompany him to the frontiers of *Portugal*, and to furnish him with every thing of which he might stand in need. The Queen also treated him with the same kindness and politeness, as he passed by the convent of *S. Antonio*,

within a short distance of *Villa Franca*. As soon as he arrived at the harbour, he set sail on the 13th in the morning, with a favourable wind, and on the 15th of March, about noon, he entered the harbour of *Palos*.

XIV. The joy which the inhabitants of the good town of *Palos* felt at the arrival of our glorious mariners is not to be expressed, as most of them were their fellow citizens and relations. The whole town joined with them in solemnizing their triumph with a thousand demonstrations of joy and gladness, especially in a devout solemn procession, in which they poured forth praise and thanksgiving to Heaven. The general exultation was, if possible, increased in the evening at the unexpected arrival of the *Pinta*. In the night of the first tempest, she had been driven by a violent south wind, and after a hard struggle with the boisterous waves, she reached *Bayona*, in *Galicia*. When *Martin Alonso* entered the harbour of *Palos*, and saw the *Nina*, he began to fear that the Admiral, out of revenge, might call him to an account, and have him punished, for his disobedience
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of orders, and his unpardonable desertion at *Cuba*; in consequence of which he absented himself, and secretly expected the resolution and answer of the court, which he had supplicated, to permit him to give a private report of his voyage. After some days, when he was informed that *Columbus* had set out for the court, he grew very sick and weak; his malady encreased, when he had the mortification to hear that no notice was taken of his petition, and a short time after he expired, an unfortunate victim to his passions. He was one of the greatest navigators of his age, and not inferior in courage and resolution, to the first men of any age. It was he that particularly stimulated *Columbus* to embark in his glorious undertaking, and procured the hands necessary for manning the fleet, through his activity and example. He also selected able leaders and officers, and animated them by his spirit and intrepidity. In a word, he was, next to *Columbus*, the soul of the expedition, and contributed in a great part, to the performance of the most wonderful enterprise that ever was undertaken; and, indeed, he fain wished to have reserved

the glory of it to himself; for before *Columbus* had finally assented to the embarkation, he designed to fit out two ships at his own expence, in order to explore the western countries. He pretended to have received certain accounts of them, and that from ancient manuscripts in the Pope's library, particularly an old prophecy in the days of *Solomon*, in which it was stated, that in a navigation from the extremity of *Spain*, westwards, in midway betwixt north and south, about ninety-five degrees west, the fertile and wealthy *Cipango* would be found; an ill contrived fiction of *Areas Perez*, his son, and the heir of his jealousy, fabricated for the purpose of tarnishing the fame of the illustrious discoverer *. He endeavoured by this and other improbable fabrications, in

* *Oviedo*, and other envious *Spaniards*, have likewise endeavoured, in consequence of these tales, to deprive the Admiral of the glory of the discovery of the *New World*; nay, the *Pinzons* pretended that *Columbus* had not even seen land first. According to their account, which *Oviedo* repeats, one of *Pinzon's* mariners saw light first of all, and cried out "land." This man, they say, out of resentment, because he did not receive the promised reward, went to *Africa*, abjured christianity, and embraced mahomedanism. T. N.

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vain to blast the well-earned laurels of *Columbus*, in order that his father might share in the glory of the expedition.

XV. *Columbus* enjoyed this honour, which was justly his due, without any diminution. After his feelings had been gratified with the first effusions of the joy and admiration of the people of *Palos*, he set out for *Sevilla*, and sent an express to their Majesties, who then resided at *Barcelona*, with a short account of his voyage, and the unclouded prospects which it opened. The effects and designs which those unexpected accounts produced at court, appear in some measure from the answer which the King and Queen wrote him, under the date of the 30th of March. In this letter they expressed much joy at his great success, with the liveliest hopes of the aggrandizement of the monarchy, and the diffusion of religion, and a fervent desire to witness a continuation of the undertaking, the commencement of which was crowned with such auspicious good fortune. They requested him to repair as speedily as possible to *Barcelona*, and in the

mean time to furnish an estimate of what he should think necessary for the equipment of another squadron, with which he might return to the *Indies*; as in consequence of his opinion and advice, such measures and preparations should be taken, that in the interval of his coming and return from *Barcelona*, every thing might be ready for his putting to sea again during the convenient season. They added a promise to reward his services in a worthy manner, and as a prelude to it, they conferred on him the titles of Don, Admiral, Viceroy, and Lieutenant. *Columbus* returned an answer by the messenger who brought this letter, with a short report, and prepared to set out for the court with all the expedition imaginable, with specimens of all the productions, commodities, animals, and men of the new countries. The rarity and novelty of these things, never seen nor heard of before, encreased the sensations which this wonderful discovery had already excited. The rumour of it spread around, and the influx of people which had began in the harbour, swelled like a river fed with many streams; at *Seville*, it continued to encrease,

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to an immense multitude, which almost choaked up the roads to see the Admiral, (for now he was distinguished by this title,) with his retinue. In this manner our hero went along, ravished with heart-felt pleasures, and his ears incessantly saluted with plaudits and acclamations of joy. His satisfaction was raised to the highest pitch, in consequence of the solemn reception he met with at *Barcelona*, where he made a triumphant entry, encircled by a number of courtiers, knights, and other persons of every rank and class, who were never satisfied with gazing on him, and to swell his heroic exploits. Attended by his train, he appeared in the presence of the King and Queen, who expected him, and received him publicly and solemnly in a splendid saloon, seated on the throne, with the prince *Don Juan* on their right hand, in the midst of a brilliant and magnificent court. The glorious discoverer approached with a serene and joyful countenance. On his entrance, the royal pair graciously arose, held out their hands for him to kiss, without permitting him to kneel, and desired him to speak sitting, the
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highest honour which the grandees could aspire to, and that was seldom indulged except through extraordinary clemency and gratitude.

XVI. *Columbus* related with great gaiety, but at the same time with becoming gravity, the distinguished favours which Divine Providence had showered on their pious Majesties, through his humble means. The immense ocean, hitherto inaccessible to all mortals, and now open to the fleets of *Spain*, and a hemisphere discovered in its lap, till then unknown to the *Old World*. New seas and wonderful countries rising into view, the acquisition of which would undoubtedly redound to the incredible glory and aggrandizement of the *Spanish* Monarch, and of the catholic church. As a proof of the truth of what he related, he displayed the several articles which he had brought with him, several kinds of earth fit to be used in painting, amber, pieces of ore, cotton, various kinds of seeds, branches and roots of aromatic and medicinal plants, aloes, mastic, rhubarb, purple, *agi* (peper) of several forms, and of
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a more fragrant taste than the eastern pepper. With those known and useful articles, and the samples of other spices and aromatics, he pointed out the advantages which would accrue to commerce and the treasury. He held out still greater hopes of riches, by the quantity of gold which he exhibited in several pieces, in grain, as well as in dust, as it had been picked up without any preparation by art, and which promised certain hopes of leading, on due examination, to the discovery of rich gold mines. He painted, in glowing colours, the fertility of the soil, which, after a little cultivation, produced maize, yuca, batatas, and several other fruits in abundance, different from the vegetable race in *Europe*, of which he also produced some samples. It was not to be doubted, he said, that grounds which rejoiced in never-fading verdure, covered with trees, cloathed with leaves, and the finest grass, would yield an abundant produce of *European* edibles. In order to contrast the luxury and novelty of the *New World* with those of the *Old World* in a more striking light, he displayed several kinds of foreign and marine animals, with

forty

forty parrots of the liveliest plumage and variegated colours. After this he drew the attention of the brilliant assembly to the six natives of the *New World*, who were present, and spoke of the qualities, dispositions, and manners of those people, their rudeness, simplicity, and gentle temper. He exhibited their coarse dress and ornaments, their feeble arms, rude and clumsy utensils and vessels, which answered to his description of them as naked Barbarians, without arts and sciences, without arms, without cultivation, and their wants few. He added this remark, that notwithstanding the great ignorance and barbarity in which they lived, he had not, however, observed any trace of superstition or idolatry amongst them, but on the contrary that they all seemed to be convinced of the existence of a Supreme Being, who dwelt in Heaven; from whence it proceeded, that they looked up to the firmament as often as they expressed admiration or joy, that they considered our *Spaniards* as descended from that celestial abode, and called whatever seemed excellent in their eyes, *Turey*, as it were to signify that the origin of
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all excellence and goodness existed in Heaven. They discovered, besides, he said, much plain sense, docility and inclination to adopt the christian faith ; and this last circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of concluding his speech with this observation : “ that God had reserved for the *Spanish* Monarchs, not only all the treasures of the *New World*, but a still greater treasure of inestimable value, in the infinite number of souls destined to be brought over into the bosom of the christian church.

XVII. After he had done speaking, *Te Deum* was sung by the choiristers of the Chapel Royal, whilst the whole assembly remained on their knees with pious devotion. *Columbus* and his surprising adventures were the objects of the curiosity, attention, and discourse of the court and the people for many days. The King and Queen admitted him to their audience every hour he pleased, and loaded him with honours and marks of distinction. The illustrious Cardinal *Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza*, a man of high authority, invited him to his table, placed him by his side, and caused

caused him to be served as a grandee. Several other persons of exalted rank followed the example, and thought themselves happy to enjoy the company and conversation of the illustrious discoverer of a *New World*; I say a *New World*, for he promised no less, nor dared any person to doubt any longer of the veracity of his words, after the triumph he had gained over the prevailing opinion. It was conjectured, that *Cuba* might be the utmost limit of the continent of *Asia*, a supposition partly supported by the opinion of the ancient philosophers, concerning the short distance of the coasts of *Spain* from those of the western *Indies*, partly by the parrots, which *Pliny* describes and places in that country. As for the rest it was taken for certain, that the discovery of the opposite hemisphere had began; and that the whole globe, in a short time, would be known and circumnavigated. In consequence of these ideas, the new discovered countries, and the others supposed to be connected with them, received the name of the *West Indies*, and the *New World*.

XVIII. The advice and propofals of *Columbus*, with refpect to another equipment, were very punctually followed. The defign at prefent was to fit out a great fleet, in order to augment and ftrengthen the colony of *Navidad*, to take poffeffion of *Efpanola*, which was fupposed to be larger than *Spain*, and from thence to purfue the difcovery of the iflands, and the continent towards weft and fouth; it was alfo imagined that all the new countries which fhould be difcovered, might be fubjected without any great difficulty to the crown of *Spain*; and thus it was hoped that the light of cultured *Europe*, and of the chriftian religion, would be diffufed among a number of barbarians and infidels; an acquifition of fuch ineftimable value, that of itfelf alone, it was deemed fufficient to juftify every war and conquelt undertaken for the purpofe of attaining it. This, at the time, was the univerfal opinion; I will not fay that it was the moft confonant to reafon, and the fpirit of chriftianity, the ftrength of which confifts in its internal divine power, the arms of which are perfuafive mild exhortations, patience and labour, and the propagation

gation of which I always think should be conducted through the only medium which the heavenly author of it prescribed, and his disciples and followers practised with wonderful success. But the established practice of the last four centuries since the commencement of the crusades, had given a colour to the wars against infidels, under the pretext of removing the obstacles which impeded the progress of the true religion. All those that did not believe in *Jesus Christ* were set down as enemies, and to drive them out of their possessions was considered as a holy meritorious work. The christian princes that exerted the greatest power for that purpose, were looked upon to be the most religious, and no one disputed their right to such conquests. Our court, according to these principles, considered it as religious to take possession of those islands and the continent in the ocean, and the design of annexing them to the crown of *Spain* as holy. For this reason, it did not appear necessary to obtain a bull from the Pope to sanction the proceeding; but as the erroneous opinion was prevalent, that the *Holy See*

was

was entitled to dispose arbitrarily of the countries of the infidels, it was thought better and safer to lay an account of the whole before his Holiness *Alexander* the Sixth, and to petition for a formal grant of all the countries that were already, and that might in future be discovered in the western main. Besides, this bill was serviceable, as it would prevent other nations, and the princes of Christendom, from attempting similar undertakings, and particularly as it would extinguish all claims and disputes, which the court of *Lisbon* might be tempted to excite. For *Martin* the Fifth, and other Popes after him, had ceded to the crown of *Portugal* all the countries she might discover, from the Cape of *Bojador* to the *Indies*; and the catholic Kings were bound by the treaty in the year 1479, not to hinder, molest, or disturb the *Portuguese* in those nautical pursuits. Considering those claims which *Don Juan* the Second had already mentioned to *Columbus*, it was requested on the presentation of the latter, that in the concession of the *Holy See*, the limits of the navigation, and the conquests of the *Spaniards* might be determined

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by an imaginary line drawn from one pole to the other, through a point situated 100 leagues distant from the western dominions of the *Portuguese* at the *Azores*, or *Cape de Verde* islands.

XIX. The intelligence of the new discovery was received at *Rome* with great joy and admiration. The Holy Father, a *Spaniard*, and the friend of *Don Fernando*, expressed his joy in a very distinguished manner. He assembled the holy college, and issued a bull on the 3d of May, with their consent and approbation, in which he granted to the crown of *Spain* an *eternal domination* of the *New World*, under an obligation that they would propagate the catholic faith in these regions. The boundaries assigned in this bull included all the territories that should be found westward of the fixed line, and that were not taken possession of by any christian prince before the first day of the current year 1493. And to remove every doubt with respect to those countries of the *Indies*, to which the King of *Portugal* might lay claim by virtue of former bulls, the Holy Father
declared,

declared, on the 26th of the following month of September, that all countries of the eastern *Indies*, which the *Spaniards* might find, in case they were not already in christian hands, should be included in the grant made to the catholic Kings. Besides, by another bull, dated on the same third of May, addressed to the sovereigns and subjects of *Spain*, he granted them all the same liberties and privileges which had been ceded by his predecessors to the *Portuguese*, in their navigations to *Africa*. To these donatives he added high encomiums of the catholic zeal, by which our Kings, having delivered *Spain* at a considerable expence and loss of blood, from the yoke of the *Moors*, had undertaken such an astonishing discovery with equal courage and success, and at the same time he exhorted them to follow up their holy design of acquiring new countries for the propagation of christianity. *Columbus* was honoured with a high eulogy, and the glory and exalted idea of his enterprise, rose in proportion as it became more and more known over *Europe*. In like manner, the expectation of the King and Queen entertained of the ho-

nour and advantages of the undertaking in the cause of religion, and the interests of their crown and country encreased every moment, especially, by the persuation of the admired discoverer, and from an accurate perusal of his diary. Such powerful incentives, and the report that the King of *Portugal* had fitted out some ships, to sail in pursuit of our conquests, animated our court with the most lively zeal and activity to fit out a considerable fleet.

XX. Orders were sent to the ports of *Andalusia*, that all the ships, with their captains, pilots, and men, should be ready for the voyage. The president and magistrates of *Seville*, the chief justices, magistrates and bailiffs of other harbours and principal towns, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and other high persons, were summoned to afford all requisite assistance. The receivers of the King's third part of the ecclesiastical rents, the treasurer of the *Hermanidad*, and several other officers who administered his Majesty's revenues, were ordered to pay them to the treasurer of *Seville*, *Francisco Pinelo*, who
was

was authorized to provide for the expences of the equipment. It was also ordered that all the furniture, cash, and other property of the Jews, expelled the year before, which, in several places of *Andalusia* and *Castile* had been sequestered, should be delivered into the hands of the said treasurer; an important supply for the exigency of the present want. Besides these assignments for the provision of money, *Pinelo* was authorized to negotiate a loan to fill up what was still wanting; and the president, Count *Cifuentes* was directed to aid and assist him in raising such loans to the utmost of his power. Others were called upon to assist in providing artillery, guns, powder, and arms of different kinds, likewise grain, biscuit, and other provisions. And to remove every impediment, and expedite the equipment, every thing requisite for that purpose was declared to be duty free, and this order was sent to all the receivers of his Majesty's revenue. In the kingdom of *Granada*, twenty lance-men, well mounted on the best horses, and armed, were selected, and as many skilful husbandmen, with directions that they should hold them-

selves in readiness on the 20th of June, in *Seville*, to await the orders of the Admiral, and *Don Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca*.

XXI. *Fonseca*, who was raised in a short time to very high dignities, was brother to Mr. *de Coca*, and *Alaejos*, and *Don Antonio de Fonseca*, high treasurer of *Castile*; he was appointed on this occasion administrator of the affairs belonging to the fleet bound for the *Indies*, and of all other functions relative to the navigation and commerce of *Seville* and *Cadiz*, with a salary of 20,000 maravedis. *Pinelo*, and *Juan de Soria*, were assigned to him as assistants; the first as treasurer, and the second as accountant. This office was to be erected at *Seville*, and to superintend the business at *Cadiz*, in which last place a custom-house was established, for the purpose of the traffic of the new navigation. It was intended to establish a similar office in *Espanola*, under the superintendence of the Admiral, and a reciprocal communication to be maintained betwixt both, as far as related to the register of persons, cargoes, and munition of ships sailing

failing in and out of each harbour. All the officers engaged in these establishments were to be under the inspection of the high treasurers, or ministers of finance; for, as all the expences were advanced out of the royal treasury, the profits arising out of the colony were to be paid into it. Accordingly it was prohibited, under severe penalties, nay, upon pain of death, to any person to sail to the *Indies*, or to carry on any kind of trade or commerce in that quarter, without the express permission of the King, as the crown resolved to reserve the whole to itself, and to enjoin the officers serving under it to give the most minute and accurate account of every transaction in those distant possessions. The spirit of the times, the example of the *Portuguese*, and the unenlightened principles on which such important and precious commerce was conducted, caused the most extraordinary caution and strictness in the common course of things.

XXII. At the same time, particular care was taken of the spiritual good of the inha-

bitants of the *New World*. The superintendence of this important business was committed to the care of Father *Fray Bernardo Boil of Catalonia*, a benedictine monk of the convent of *Monferrat*, a man highly respected at court, on account of his learning and unaffected piety, as well as of his prudence, of which he had given evident proofs in his negociation with *France*, with respect to the restitution of *Roussillon*. In order to give greater weight to the mission, the particulars were submitted to the Pope in a letter, in consequence of which, his Holiness, on the 24th of June, issued a bull, in which he appointed *Fray Boil* as his apostolic Vicar in those territories, with several episcopal prerogatives, as head over the rest of the clergy, which the King and Queen intended to send thither for the propagation and establishment of the Gospel. Previous to this, the *Indians* which *Columbus* had brought with him to *Barcelona*, had been instructed and baptized, with extraordinary solemnity and pomp. The sponsors were the King and Prince Royal, after whose names two of them were called; one, a pretended relative to the

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Cazique Guacanagari, received the name of *Don Fernando de Aragon*, and the other, *Don Juan de Castilla*. The latter remained in *Spain* at the desire of the Prince, and resided in the palace in high esteem, but died in two years after. The others were sent to *Seville*, and to be employed as soon as they were instructed in our religion and language, in the instruction and conversion of their countrymen. As this object was next to the heart of the King and his consort, they enjoined the Admiral, in preference to every thing else, to win over the *Indians* by presents, and a mild friendly behaviour, and to punish with severity, every *Spaniard* that should violate these injunctions.

XXIII. After all those preparations were planned and executed in the latter end of the month of May, *Columbus* having been rewarded and honoured to the height of his wishes, received his dispatches. On the 28th of May, letters patent, under the Royal Seal, were directed to him, in which the former honours conferred on him at *Granada*, were confirmed, and the bounds of his admiraltyship

miraltyship and government marked, according to the bull of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth. About a week before this, the peculiar prerogative was conferred on him and his heirs, of bearing in his arms, the armorial ensigns of *Castile* and *Leon*, in the two upper; and in the two inferior fields, dexter, *Isles d'or*, in azure billows, sinister, his own arms; five anchors were afterwards added, as emblematic of the admiraltyship, with the motto, "*A Castilla y à Leon Nuevo Mundo dio Colon*," that is, *Colon* gave a New World to *Castile* and *Leon*. The annuity of thirty dollars, promised to the first discoverer of land, was assigned to the Admiral at *Cordova*, because he had discovered the light, before any other person on the isle of *Guanahani*. He also received an order for a thousand doubloons, or in lieu of them, three hundred and sixty-five thousand maravedis. He received the Royal Seal, with the authority to issue ordinances under it, either by himself, or his deputy in his absence, in the name of his sovereign; and to establish colonies wherever he should think proper. The King granted him permission to appoint, by his own authority, judges, magistrates, and other public officers.

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The arrangement of all things belonging to the fleet, the appointment of persons and things that were to be taken along with him, the regulation of the voyage, and the establishment of farther colonies were left entirely to the management and disposition of *Columbus*, in a manner which evidently presented to his mind the honourable light in which he was viewed, and the unbounded confidence that was reposed in him. The Admiral felt this, and it formed every spark of gratitude and impatience to carry his great designs into execution.

XXIV. Glowing with zeal and desire, he arrived in the beginning of June at *Seville*, and put an immediate embargo on the ships and mariners in that harbour. *Fonseca*, and *Soria*, the accountant general, who resided at *Barcelona*, followed him in a short time after, and assisted in the preparations for the expedition. They were followed by *Fray Boil*, with some friars, who were ordered to enrol immediately other ecclesiastics at *Seville* for the establishment, and to procure sacred vessels, and vestments necessary for the

the performance of divine service, and the administration of the sacraments. Several officers of the King's household, noblemen and knights, belonging to the court, and natives of *Andalusia*, offered to embark in the service, some from their own accord, and others out of complaisance to their Majesties. The names of the chief persons who stood at the head of this list, were *Mosen Pedro Margarit*, *Melchior Maldonado*, *Gines Gorvalan*, *Sebastian de Olano*, *Pedro Fernandez Coronel*, *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, *Alvaro de Acosta*, *Antonio de Torres*, *Juan Aguado*, *Juan de Lujan*, *Alonso de Ojeda*, *Diego Marque*, *Gaspar*, and *Beltran*. The most of them received the command of caravels, with the titles and salaries of captains. *Acosta* was appointed *Alguacil Mayor*, or chief justice of the fleet; *Bernal Diaz de Piza* as accountant general of the *Indies*; *Gomez Tello* was appointed treasurer, but he did not join the fleet, and his place was filled by *Sebastian de Olano*. The choice of an astrologer was left to *Columbus*, with the intimation that *Fray Antonio de Marchena*, a *Franciscan* friar, well skilled in astrology, and whose opinion had

had always been highly respected, appeared qualified to fill that situation. A note which seems to mean *Fray Juan Perez de Marchena*, guardian of *Rabida*, and makes me suppose, that by a slip of the pen, *Antonio* was written instead of *Juan*; this office, however, was not filled. The bachelor *Gil Garcia* was appointed lord chief justice; Doctor *Chanca* who practised at *Seville*, and was pensioned by the court, physician; *Fermin Zedo* was ordered to regulate and mark the boundaries of the land. A competent number of agriculturists, miners, carpenters, masons, and handicrafts, furnished with all the necessary implements were engaged; but the greatest part were armed warriors, with twenty horsemen only, namely, the fore-named lance cavalry of *Granada*. The novelty and magnificence of the preparation, the report of the quantity of gold, and the hopes of acquiring wealth and riches, allured so many to join the expedition, that the destined number was not only soon completed, (which was limited to a thousand,) but also several persons solicited permission to embark, and to serve without pay. In my opinion,

opinion, the number engaged at *Seville*, amounted to twelve hundred, or thereabouts, and of those that united underhand, to about three hundred. The ships were abundantly provided with ammunition, provisions, several sorts of wares and commodities, with a quantity of toys, trinkets, and trifling things, for presents and barter with the *Indians*. Medicines were abundantly supplied with corroborating and restorative remedies in case of sickness or fatigue. A number of animals, partly domestic, and partly to be slaughtered, were taken aboard, with a sufficient quantity of corn, rice, vine branches, sugar-cane*, plants and seeds of different vegetables. In a word, nothing was omitted that promised to be useful in being planted or propagated in the new countries, and necessary to the colony for the continuation of the discoveries.

* It is evident that *Columbus* did not find this plant in his first voyage, otherwise he would not have carried it out from *Spain* with rice and vine branches, which afterwards were found in abundance on those islands. T. N.

XXV. The supply and arrangement of these articles, retarded the sailing of the fleet much longer than was intended; for *Columbus* thought it prudent to lay in an abundant store of every thing, in order to provide against every want, and to leave as little as possible to contingency. But the treasury was too low to fit out all the ships that were deemed necessary, according to the measures at first digested; and *Soria*, the accountant general, refused to pay several of the bills which *Columbus* had drawn on him, for which, however, he was seriously reprimanded by their Majesties, who were warmed with enthusiasm in proportion as they reflected on the magnitude of the expedition, more and more astonished, to think that *Columbus* alone should know, what no other mortal had been thought capable of knowing; they therefore commanded that he should be treated with the greatest respect, and obeyed in whatever he should think proper, notwithstanding they saw it was impossible to gratify his wishes immediately to the full extent. As many ships, however, were prepared, as
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were requisite to carry the men, horses, provisions, and other articles indispensably necessary, and it was resolved to send the remainder in other vessels after him. Thus satisfied, and invested with full powers as commander in chief by land and sea, *Columbus* ordered three transports and fourteen caravals to be got ready. He assembled the fleet in the bay of *Cadiz*, and after all the crews had taken the oath of fidelity to their Majesties, and obedience to the Admiral, the squadron set sail on the 25th of September, a little before the break of day. *Columbus* steered to the *Canary* islands, and carefully avoided cape *S. Vincents*, or any other *Portuguese* possession, in order to conceal the destination of the voyage; the men and ammunition, were, however, in readiness for battle, in case they should meet a *Portuguese* fleet.

XXVI. The conduct of the court of *Portugal* excited real suspicion; two of the *Portuguese* mariners, who had accompanied *Columbus* to *Lisbon*, were put under an arrest. The King, *Don Juan*, immediately called a council

council at *Torres-Vedras*, and in consequence of its advice, caused a considerable squadron to be fitted out, in order to take possession of the *Spanish* discoveries. He concealed this design under the pretext of sending the fleet to *Africa*, and requested permission of their *Spanish* Majesties to purchase some prohibited things in their kingdom, necessary for the expedition; entreating, at the same time, that their Majesties would interdict their subjects from fishing beyond the Cape of *Bajador*, till the limits of the possessions of both kingdoms should be fixed. It was *Ruy de Sande* that delivered these requests, which our court granted. As to the discoveries of *Columbus*, the messenger only mentioned the manner in which his Sovereign had received the Admiral, and the pleasure with which he had heard the wished for success of his undertaking, and of having directed his course from the *Canaries* due west, adding that the King, his master, hoped that the same line would be pursued in future, without any deviation to the south. A short time previous to the arrival of *Ruy de Sande* at our court, our King and Queen, informed

of the plans and motions of the *Portuguese* cabinet, had dispatched *Lope de Herrera* to *Portugal*, to assure his Majesty of their friendly disposition to him, and to make several offers, if he would not fit out a fleet in search of new discoveries, (as they had reason to suppose he intended,) and also restrain his subjects from doing so. In case that *Don Juan* would not accede to these solicitations, *Lope de Herrera* was instructed to demand a categorical declaration, which was thought absolutely necessary, in order to know his sentiments at once. The King answered that he would send ambassadors to our court for farther negociations, and that no vessels should sail out within sixty days after their arrival. Accordingly the royal councillor, Doctor *Petro Diez* and *Ruy de Pina*, his Secretary, arrived in *Spain*, in a diplomatic capacity. They insisted on the terms which *Sande* had already proposed, that the parallel line of the *Canaries* should be made the limit of the *Castilian* navigation, as the southern seas and countries belonged to

to *Portugal* *. They confirmed the royal promise given to *Herrera*, but demanded that the departure of our fleet should likewise be suspended, till it was determined for what quarter it should be entitled to sail.

XXVII. On the 14th of August, the ambassadors came to *Barcelona*, and *Columbus* had written that he intended to weigh anchor on the 15th of the same month; accordingly he dared not put off his departure any longer, especially as the probable needy situation of the colony at *Navidad*, and the necessity of speedily taking possession of the western countries, called for the most urgent dispatch. This was not only announced to them, but also to their Sovereign, by a formal embassy, consisting of the prothonotary *Don Pedro de*

* *Portugal*, properly demanded a line drawn from the *Canaries* to west, as the limit of the discoveries of both nations, and to leave the *Spaniards* at liberty to pursue their discoveries to the north, and in a direct line to the west countries and islands, but that the navigation beyond that line to the south, should be left entirely to the *Portuguese*. *Herrera*, Decad. I. lib. II. cap. 8. p. 48.

T. N.

Ayala, and *Garcilópez de Carvajal*, brother to the Cardinal of *Santa Cruz*, bishop of *Carthagena*. The pretended right of the *Portuguese* to all the seas and countries southwards of the *Canaries* was not admitted, because the treaty of 1479, on which they founded these claims, extended only to the islands at that time in their possession, and the southern countries opposite to the coast of *Africa*. It was not the proposed division of the globe into two equal parts, north and south, that could be appealed to as decisive in this question; it was the *Pope's bull* only, in which the navigation and discoveries of the two nations were laid down, viz. to the east and west, a declaration conformable to the rights of both parties, as the claims of the *Portuguese* to the islands of *Madeira*, the *Azores*, *Cape de Verde*, and the rest situated near *Africa*, as well as the coasts between *Bajador* and the *Cape of Good Hope*, were founded on having taken possession of them first; *Spain*, of course, had the same right to all the territories westward of the papal demarcation, whether lying on the northern or southern hemisphere.

XXVIII. During these negotiations, the restitution of the countries of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* to the crown of *Aragon* was brought about, a hard and difficult task, which tended very much to encrease the authority and esteem of King *Don Fernando*. When the King of *Portugal* was informed of it, he relinquished his secret plans, in the dread of a rupture with such a free and powerful Prince. He also declined to accept the proposal of submitting the dispute in question to the examination and decision of honest judges in *Portugal*, *Spain*, or the court of *Rome*, as *Don Juan* had just cause of apprehension that the decision would not be in his favour. He had little to hope from *Rome*, as he saw that the *Pope* remained firm to the division which he had manifested in the bull of concession, in defiance of the most pressing solicitations to repeal or alter it. He therefore yielded to necessity, and chose the safest means of dissimulation, pretending, that he did not wish to fall out with the *Spanish* Monarch, but to settle the business in an amicable manner, as most consonant to the mutual ties of blood, friendship, and peace.

The western conquests of the *Spaniards* might be carried on without any molestation within the proposed line of demarcation ; but it did not seem equitable, however, to confine the navigation of the *Portuguese* on the wide ocean to such narrow bounds, which prevented their ships from sailing a hundred leagues westward of their possessions.

XXIX. The difference was now composed without any difficulty. At *Tordesillas*, *Ruy de Sousa*, his son *Don Juan*, and *Arius de Almada*, the new ambassadors of *Portugal*, held a meeting with the *Spanish* deputies *Don Enrique Enriquez*, *Don Gutierre de Cardenas*, and *Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado*, and on the seventh of June 1494, they signed the famous treaty, which ratified the division of the ocean between the two powers ; the line of demarcation was fixed at three hundred and seventy leagues to the west of the islands of *Cape de Verde*. But in case the *Spanish* adventurers should have discovered other islands or countries not so far to the west, as those they had already touched on, previous to the 20th of the said month, the divisional
line

line should then begin at two hundred and fifty leagues only beyond these islands *. But this did not happen, however. It was resolved, on both sides, that the leagues should be measured, and the degree of longitude determined accordingly; and if any countries should be found within this limit, a tower, or pyramid, was to be erected, or marks placed along the line. In order to carry this resolution into effect, it was settled, that one or two caravels should be sent by each party, with astronomers, pilots, and seamen, whose decision should be observed by the monarchs and subjects of

* Our author has not expressed himself with sufficient clearness and precision in the determination of the western limits; the words of the treaty run thus: "The limit of the discoveries of both nations is to begin three hundred and seventy leagues beyond the islands of *Cape de Verde*, all the countries lying westward of them are to belong to *Spain*; the eastern discoveries to *Portugal*. But if the *Portuguese* should discover any land westward, within the first two hundred and fifty leagues, before the 20th of June 1494, it was to belong to them; but all the land lying one hundred and twenty leagues beyond the *Portuguese* boundary is to belong to *Spain*. *Herrera*, p. 50.

T. N.

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both

both crowns, so that neither should be permitted to make discoveries or traffic beyond their assigned boundary, though the *Spanish* ships should be allowed to navigate freely through the eastern ocean, without departing from their usual road. This treaty was acceded to by *Fernand Alvarez de Toledo*, and *Esteban Vaz*, the secretaries, and ratified in the same year by the King and Queen of *Spain*, at *Arivalo*, on the 2d of July, and by *Don Juan* the Second, at *Setuval*, on the 5th of September. The caravels were never sent, nor yet the meeting of the astronomers and men learned in nautical science ever took place, which, according to a later agreement, was to have been held on the frontiers of *Castile* and *Portugal*, in order to determine on the best mode of marking the demarcation; notwithstanding, the terms of the treaty remained inviolable, and thus a dispute was settled, which, in the beginning, carried all the appearance of being determined only by the sword.

XXX. Such

XXX. Such bitter fruits are usually produced by a perverse habit to negotiate without sincerity, and to perplex and retard the negotiations by animosity and hostility. The conduct of *Portugal* was marked with both of these features, especially the art with which *Ruy de Sande* endeavoured to conceal from our court the underhand views of his own, in sending a caravel of discovery from *Madeira*, and three others which failed some time after, probably from the port of *Lisbon*. It is true, *Diez* and *Pina*, the two ambassadors, made an apology for it, under the pretext that the vessel which had set out from *Madeira*, had failed without orders from the government, and that in order to stop her, the King had sent three others in pursuit of her. But this was not sufficient to remove the suspicions of their *Castilian* Majesties, and therefore they enjoined *Columbus* to be on his guard, lest any foreign vessel should come too near our discoveries, and in case he should find one or more in those seas, to capture them, and to punish the persons belonging to them with rigour. *Fonseca* was likewise ordered to be on his watch, and if

he

should learn that a fleet was setting out from *Portugal*, that he should dispatch one doubly stronger after it. Providence, however, removed those obstacles which threatened to disturb the peace of both kingdoms. The Admiral did not experience any such disagreeable incident during the whole of his voyage, and there was no farther rumour of any *Portuguese* ships,

XXXI. *Columbus* arrived at the great *Canary* island seven days after his departure from *Cadiz*. He laid in water, wood, and several refreshments, with swine, calves, goats, sheep, hens, several plants, feeds of fruit trees, and other vegetables at *Gomera*. Here he furnished every ship with a chart, sealed up in a packet, in which the course to the port of *Navidad* was laid down, with an injunction not to open them, unless they should happen to be dispersed by the winds, or any other accident, lest any person should become more accurately acquainted with the passage without necessity, or that it should be communicated to the *Portuguese*. On the 14th of October, the signal for sailing was
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hove out, and having reached the isle of *Ferro*, he steered W. S. W. He ran in this direction about 800 leagues with a fair wind; but on the 2d of November he ordered the sails to be furled, as he was persuaded they were near land, in consequence of the change of the winds, and the appearance of the atmosphere.

XXXII. In reality, on the following morning, at break of day, they discovered an island, which he called *Dominica*, as it was Sunday, (*Domingo*.) The fleet approached, some other islands were discovered, stored with rank grass, and trees full of leaves, with an immense number of parrots flying through the air, and hopping on the branches. *Columbus* sailed round a considerable part of the island in order to find a convenient harbour, of which he began to despair, till one of the vessels sent for that purpose, found one, and on the following day joined the fleet again, which had already cast anchor at the second island, a little more distant to the north. The Admiral landed on this island, accompanied with a
number

number of his men, and called it *Marigallante*, after the name of the main ship, and took formal possession of that Archipelagus for the crown of *Castile*. The abundance and variety of unknown plants, the trees in full bloom at such a season, and the diversity of wild fruits, which it produced, excited much admiration, especially the aromatic laurel*, the fruit of which, in taste and smell, resembles that of nutmeg, cinnamon and cloves together, though at that time the fragrancy of the leaves only was perceptible.

XXXIII. After they had sailed along the northern coast of this island, another still greater was observed to the north-west; they steered to the extremity of the south side of it, which was terminated by a very high mountain, from the top of which several streams ran down precipitately. It was the

* *Columbus* means the *Pimento-tree*, formerly found in abundance in the *West-India* isles, but at present it is only found on the larger ones, and even there it is scarce. Mr. *Brian Edwards* has described it with the same rapture with which the *Spaniards* beheld it. T. N.

famous

famous *Volcano* of *Guadaloupe*, for this name was then imposed on it, after the convent of that name in *Estramadura*. The fleet steered along the coast upwards of two miles, in the successive view of *Indian* cottages, the inhabitants of which fled in the utmost consternation at the sight of the ships. When they had cast anchor, a number of the crews went on shore to take a nearer view of the island. They found many of the villages composed of from twenty to thirty cottages, formed of the trunks of trees, poles, branches and leaves, in the form of tents, disposed in a circular shape, with an open area, intersected by covered walks. Their utensils and vessels evinced some progress in the arts of artificial industry. The clues and nets of cotton, the swinging beds, or hammocks, the bows and arrows with sharp pointed bones, the gourd bottles, and earthen vessels, were the most elaborate production of the *Haytites*. A higher degree of art was exhibited in the structure of their houses and shaded walks, a kind of looms in which they wove carpets, and two wooden statues, with serpents tolerably

rably well engraved, writhing round their feet. A greater quantity of esculencies, among others tame geese very like ours, and parrots of every kind, especially the beautiful *Guacamayas*, to that moment unknown. They also found here, for the first time, the sweet and fragrant *Anona*, or pineapple*, one of the most delicious fruits of the *Indies*; but the most remarkable thing of all the examiners found, was a plate of iron, and the cross timber of the poop of an *European* ship. *Fernando Columbus* conjectured that a stone, which in weight and colour resembled iron, and of which some are found in those islands, might have been mistaken for iron ore. As to the cross timber, they might have been

* Several *West India* fruits were comprehended under this name, which are all remarkable for a pleasing acid taste, and refreshing quality. *Annona muricata* is the largest, sometimes a foot and more in length, with a snow-white pulp. The *Annona squamosa* is enveloped in scales, and in shape resembles a pine nut, and has a very white pulp, which, from its excessive sweetness, produces a nausea. *Annona reticulata*, or custard-apple, is shaped like a heart, of a dark green colour. T, N.

misled

misled by the same error. It was also possible that both might have been cast on that shore from the colony of *Navidad*. Perhaps some of the fragments of the main ship, which had been lost in the first voyage, or the wreck of some other vessel in the western seas, frequented by the *Spaniards* or *Portuguese*, might have been waisted to *Guadaloupe*. In *Columbus's* first voyage a piece of the mast of a vessel was seen one hundred and fifty leagues westward of the island of *Ferro*. The winds and tides, which had been able to drift these pieces so far, could drive these and others to the *Antilles*.

XXXIV. But the most astonishing and revolting sight of all was, to behold in the list of edibles the heads and limbs of human beings recently slaughtered, which they boiled with the flesh of animals, gnawed off the bones very neatly, preserved them with care, and converted the skulls into drinking cups. From this circumstance, it was conjectured that *Guadaloupe* was one of the islands inhabited by the cruel and sanguinary *Caribs*. Their excessive ferocity filled them
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with distrust and fear of the *Spaniards*; at whose approach they fled. They watched our men at a distance, as they rowed in boats to the shore; as soon as they saw them land, they ran in confusion to the mountains; some women, however, came near, of their own accord, and sought, as it were, the protection of the fleet. *Columbus* presented them with little bells and glass beads, and caused them to be put on shore again, in hopes, that it would be the means of alluring the men, through the representation of this little intercourse, and the sight of the toys; but he was disappointed in this expectation. The women returned soon after, stripped of all their gew-gaws, and anxiously entreated our people, by signs, to be permitted to accompany them. Several others, with some boys, had recourse to the *Spaniards* who were gone to examine the island. It was collected from the gestures and explanations of the *Indian* interpreters, that the *Caribs* ruled over many of the circumjacent islands, that they cruised about in large canoes, harrassed the more peaceable inhabitants, made prisoners of them, eat the men and slept with the women;

women; that they used to emasculate the boys, sprung from the captive women, as well as those they seized, and, after they had grown lusty and fat, devoured them at their feasts*; and in reality eviscerated children were found. The exterior of these barbarians, answered very exactly to the barbarity of their morals, and their customs. Some of them who were brought on board excited the utmost disgust and aversion. Even in that situation, though secure from danger, the very sight of them appalled the other *Indians*, from whom they differed, not only in their swollen and angry looks and air, but also in the custom common to men and women of wearing two very tight bands of cotton on each leg, one above, and the other below the calf. This ornament, which was then thought to be peculiar to the *Carribs*, was afterwards found to obtain among the more pacific inhabitants of *Jamaica*, and other islands, and likewise among many na-

* The existence of *Cannibals*, so long doubted, has been confirmed by some modern travellers. Ten of Captain *Furneaux's* men, a boat's crew, were murdered and ate by the *New Zealanders*. *Cook's Voyage*. T. N.

tions on the continent, as well on their arms as their legs, in different modes, however.

XXXV. I shall pass over other remarks, which were made on natural objects, with little knowledge, and still less accuracy. In a little district on this island, watered with many rivers, a rich fertile soil appeared with thick woods, in which *Diego Marque*, one of the captains of the ships, and six or seven of his crew, lost their way, and after roaming about, almost in despair, they reached the coast by chance, which led them at last, after four days' absence, and quite worn out with fatigue, to the landing place. Parties of the crew were sent in quest of them, into several quarters. The largest of these bodies consisted of forty men, under the command of Captain *Alonso de Ojeda*, who had orders at the same time to examine the nature of the island. A thousand confused ideas arose in consequence of this hasty examination. Among a thousand plants, which they had never seen before, some of them exhaled the richest odours, or tickled the tongue, when tasted. The people, influenced

fluenced by the enthusiasm of *Columbus*, flattered themselves with the hopes of having found spices, aromatics and perfumes. The Admiral had the unexpected pleasure of receiving better information relative to the colony of *Navidad*; some of the females, rescued from the bonds of slavery, were natives of the isle of *Boriquen*, which had been discovered in the first voyage, at setting out from the gulph of *Samana*. They gave an account of the situation of their own, and other islands, which lay near *Espanola*. Their statements exactly agreed with the conjectures which the Admiral had formed, and according to which he had directed his course in the present voyage.

XXXVI. *Columbus* weighed anchor on the 10th of November, and sailed along the western coast of *Guadaloupe*. To the north-west he discovered the islands of *Monferrat*, *Santa Maria la Rotunda*, *Santa Maria la Anciqua*, *St. Martin*, with some others, at a little distance, to which it seems he gave no names. He took another course from *St. Martin's*, which he sounded, on account

of the winds, and arrived at the island which we now call *Santa Cruz*. The aspect of that island, and the appearance of a numerous population, invited him to send a boat with thirty men on shore. The inhabitants fled at the sight with the utmost fright, except a few women, from about four to six, who remained, without any apparent fear, and seemed to implore assistance. When our men returned with these miserable creatures, who it seems had fallen into the bloody hands of the *Caribs*, as prisoners, they descried a canoe, with four men and two women, immovably fixed at some distance from our ships. The *Indians* in it seemed deeply engaged in considering the strange appearance of the squadron. But when they saw our boat unawares along side them, they endeavoured to escape. Seeing themselves pursued, however, they returned, took up their bows, and winged their arrows with such an astonishing velocity, that notwithstanding the *Spaniards* covered themselves with their shields, yet they did not escape some shafts, and they would have suffered still more, had they not
speedily

speedily overfet the canoe. The bold *Indians*, even in the water, menaced with their bows. They gained a fhallow, and undauntedly continued to defend their liberty. Obliged at length to yield to fuperior force, they were brought aboard the main fhip. The appearance of thefe fhocking favages was difgufting and terrific; hideous features, eyes blackened round with foot, hair cut acrofs, in wild diforder; the women, as well as the men, thought themfelves worthy of the name of *Carib*, which in their language fignifies *Bold* and *Courageous*; at leaft one of the captive women deferved it, as fhe difcharged arrows with fuch force and fwiftnefs, as to pierce a fhield. She alfo wounded one of our men fo dangerously, that he died a few days after. On this occafion, as *Pietro Martir* relates, it was obferved that the fatal dart had been dipt in the juice of a poifonous herb, a practice common to many barbarous nations,

XXXVII. The Admiral now navigated further, and difcovered a clufter of little ifles, lying near each other. He caufed them

to be examined, and there were fifty of them numbered, *en passant*, very different from each other in size and aspect. The greatest of them received the name of *St. Ursula*, and the rest the *Eleven Thousand Virgins**. The flat and verdant ones, as well as those dry and rocky, intermixed with barren hills, of various colours, raised ideas of their utility, the former of a fertile soil, and the latter of metals and precious stones. The closer examination of their contents was, however, postponed till another opportunity, as *Columbus* intended for the present to hasten as fast as possible to the relief of the *Spaniards*, whom he had left at *Navidad*, and did not think it eligible to venture himself, and to tarry with the fleet in narrow seas. The great island of *Boriquen* immediately appeared to the west,

* These are the present *Virginia* islands, lying eastward of *Porto-rico*, to which those of *St. Thomas*, *Tortola*, and *St. Bartholomew* belong. Hitherto it was believed that the *English* navigators had given them this name in honour of Queen *Elizabeth*. See *Suckling's* account of the *Virgin Isles*, p. 10.

T. N.

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the native country of almost all the prisoners, rescued from the hands of the *Caribs*; the Admiral gave it the name of *S. Juan Baptista*. He steered along the southern coast of it, which extended about forty leagues, and cast anchor on the west side, in a bay that teemed with fish. During the two days the fleet remained in this bay, no person appeared. On the shore they observed a group of twelve pretty regular built houses, in the form of a circle, besides another house, which was distinguished for its art and size. There was a spacious walk from the sea shore to this little hamlet, formed of shady trees, interwove at the top like an arbour; lined with espalliers and reeds, wound round with beautiful plants and shrubs, ascending in serpentine wreathes. A balcony was raised at the end of this delightful avenue, large enough to contain ten or twelve persons. In all probability it was the summer-house of a person of distinction. The *Indian* interpreters drew a very flattering picture of the fertility, population, and high cultivation of the island; they also represented the inhabitants to be of a pacific

disposition, under the government of a king, content with their paternal soil, which they never left for the purpose of disturbing and harraßing their neighbours. At the same time they were expert archers, trained to the bow, from the incessant invasions of the *Caribs*, to whom they bore an inveterate hatred, so that as often as they seized any one of them, they cut him to pieces, and devoured him, through mere revenge, as otherwise they detested the custom of eating human flesh. At the end of two days, on the 22d, at day break, the fleet got under sail, and before the night fell in, they saw *Espanola*, on the side of the bay of *Samana*; they had a safe passage to the harbour of *Monte Christi*, where they anchored on the 25th.

XXXVIII, *Columbus* sent men on shore, as he was anxious to know whether a convenient situation might be found, for the establishment of a colony near the river *del Oro*. They had not gone far on a marshy ground, when they saw two dead bodies, one with a knot round his neck, his arms stretched across, and tied to a post. The
next

next day, at a farther distance, they discovered two more in the same breathless state, one of which was distinguished by a strong beard, which was a certain sign that he was a *Spaniard*, as all the *Indians* were beardless. These circumstances raised very alarming suspicions, which subsided a little, however, when the natives came to our men, in a peaceful and confident manner. On the 27th, the fleet arrived pretty late at *Cape Santo*; some guns were fired, but no answer was returned from the fort. About midnight some messengers arrived in a canoe from *Guacanagari*, with a present of two golden masks for the Admiral; when they were questioned relative to the *Spanish* colonists, they intimated that they had quarrelled with each other, seized on women, separated, and that some of them were dead. It was supposed that all the thirty-nine had paid the debt of nature, which was found to be really the case. *Columbus* did not entertain the least doubt of this melancholy event, when he saw the little fort which he had assisted in erecting, burnt to the foundation, all the dwellings destroyed, and the fragments

ments of chests and garments scattered over the field, and eleven dead bodies, in their cloaths, stretched at a little distance from each other. All the cannon, with the musquetry, were discharged at once, in hopes that the sound might reach the ear of one or more, who had fled, perhaps, for safety to the bushes, but in vain, not one approached the harbour. The next step was to make large canals, at the expence of much labour, in order to draw the water from around the fastness, in hopes that some gold might have been concealed in it, but they were equally disappointed in this. The whole looked like a field plundered by an enemy, nothing of any value was to be seen; the entire district was deserted by its inhabitants, some of whom were only observed here and there, lurking and lying in wait as it were.

XXXIX. The messengers were treated with friendship, presents were given to them, and bells and other trifles thrown to those who ventured to approach, so that by these means a number of them lost all sense of fear,

fear, and distrust. They unanimously declared the outrageous conduct of our colonists with respect to the women, their insatiable thirst for gold, and the contests and disputes, which often ended in blows. In one of these quarrels the death of a certain man, called *James*, happened. Some of them had fled into the interior of the country, and others fought the villages. *Arana*, who had remained in the fortress with a few men, mostly sick, had been assaulted unawares by *Caonabo*, a powerful *Cazique* of the province of *Cibao*, with an innumerable body of people, who had set the fortress and the dwellings of the Christians on fire. *Guacauagari* they said could not prevent it, notwithstanding he hastened, according to their account, with a number of his people to the assistance of the *Spaniards*, but was defeated in his way. In fact the residence of the *Guacanagari* was found to be burned to ashes, and a number of his vassals wounded. The *Spaniards* could not draw any more particular accounts out of them, and it evidently appeared that the scattered *Spaniards* fell a sacrifice to their

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licentiousness and unwarrantable behaviour. It was understood that those who had fled into the interior of the country had shared the same fate, as anxious probably to discover the gold mines of *Cibao*, they had encroached on the dominions of the *Cazique Caonabo*, and provoked the resentment of him and his subjects. It also appeared probable, that the attack on the fort of *Navidad*, had been acceded to by the *Cazique* of the province, which lay immediately west of the dominions of *Guacanagari*, called *Marieni* or *Marien*. Such was the unanimous statement of the generality of the *Indians*. The want of an interpreter rendered it impossible to arrive at a satisfactory detail of the whole, for the natives understood but a few words of the *Spanish* language, and our people had left the *Haytites* behind them in *Spain*, who had rendered them such essential service as druggermen in their first voyage. Doctor *Chanca* states that the Admiral had only brought out seven *Indians* with him from *Seville*, five of whom had died in the passage, and that he had put one of the survivors on shore at *Samana*, the first bay that

that he reached near *Espanola*; after he had dressed him out and presented him with some toys, and admonished him to tell his countrymen what wonderful things he had seen in *Spain*, and to persuade them to love, and render every service in their power to the Christians. The only *Indian* that remained in the fleet was a *Lucayan*, who, it is true, understood something of the language of the *Haytites*, but not sufficiently to explain their discourse fully.

XL. The Admiral deemed this district to be disastrous, and intended to seek out for a better harbour; for this purpose the coast was examined on both sides. Captain *Melchor Maldonado* was dispatched with his caraval to the east side. He had scarce advanced three leagues, when he received a message from *Guacanagara*, who requested him to come on shore, and visit him at a contiguous place. He found him in his swinging-bed, apparently sick, surrounded by seven women in as many beds. He confirmed the accounts already communicated
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with respect to *Caonabo*, against whom he said he had fought without success, and in consequence of which he had the misfortune to be wounded in the thigh, which he shewed wrapped up in a cotton bandage. He presented the Captain, and the chief persons who accompanied him, with several pieces of gold, and expressed an anxious desire of seeing the Admiral, who, as soon as he was informed of this wish, waited on him with a splendid retinue. *Guacanagari*, with tears in his eyes, lamented the fate of the *Spaniards*, and among the demonstration of his friendship, presented him with girdles of artificial workmanship, a cap, embellished with jewels, and three gourd bottles filled with grains of gold, to the amount of about four marks. All these manifestations did not tend to diminish the opinion entertained of his duplicity. His lying a-bed, and his illness, were looked on as merely deceptive; and in fact, when the surgeon of the fleet, in the presence of Doctor *Chanca*, unfolded his leg, not the least trace of a wound or bruise was visible. The Admiral prudently
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affected to believe the whole, carried him aboard, and presented him with various toys, and dismissed him the same day, filled with astonishment, chiefly at the sight of the horses. A number of *Spaniards* were of opinion that he ought to be arrested as a prisoner, and they were still more confirmed in this opinion, from an accident that happened the following night. Several *Indians* came in canoes to carry on barter; amongst others, a brother of *Guacanagari's*. This Prince spoke with ten of the women, rescued from the *Caribs*, who soon after, during the stillness of the night, left the fleet clandestinely, and swam ashore. Boats were sent after them, as soon as they were missed, but they had got so far a head, so that only four of them were retaken, just as they were going ashore, which was only half a league from the anchorage. On the following morning the district and the village of the *Cazique* were deserted, a circumstance which increased the suspicion conceived, and there were many *Spaniards* who insisted that he should be pursued, and if taken, punished.

XLI. But the Admiral rejected the evil suggestions of passion, that easily renders any appearance of guilt a sufficient proof of it. He was also apprehensive that such a precipitate mode of proceeding would throw the whole island into such a ferment, as to drive the inhabitants to arms, or at least render them averse to the reception of christianity, and the authority of the *Spanish* government, if he should arrest one of their rulers. On the other hand, he wished to regain their confidence and favour, which he conceived would be useful in every respect, especially in laying the foundation of a colony in tranquillity. Accordingly he dispatched Captain *Maldonado*, at the head of three hundred men, a second time in search of the *Cazique*, with directions at the same time to examine the state of the country, the nature of the soil, and the situation of the harbour towards the east. For it was now time to land the men, cattle, provisions, and other things. *Maldonado* traversed the coast all the way to the district of *Yague*, without finding any place suited to the plantation of a colony, as the soil was low and fenny, and destitute
of

of stones and other materials requisite in building, though there was no want of good water and safe harbours. Among the latter his attention was particularly taken with that of *Bayaha*, which he called *Puerto Real*, (Port Royal) on account of its excellency. At a little distance from this haven they saw a cluster of about thirty houses, regularly built, standing round one in the middle, which was loftier, and more spacious than the rest. It was of a circular form, thirty-two long paces in diameter. The ceiling was wainscotted, and ornamented with party-coloured reeds interwove, and disposed with admirable art. As the *Spaniards* approached, an *Indian* of a grave aspect, with a hundred warriors drawn up in battle array, stood ready to defend it, but after a signal of peace had been given, they relinquished their menacing postures, and appeared ready to enter into a negotiation, by which the *Spaniards* learned this *Indian* Chief was the *Cazique* of that district, and not *Guacanagari*, who it seems, according to them, had retired into the mountains in this quarter.

XLII. Captain *Maldonado* returned with this intelligence to the fleet, which sailed on the 7th of December from *Navidad* to *Monte Christi*. The Admiral, in consequence of the information he had received, resolved to steer towards the east, with an intention of establishing a colony lower down, at the harbour of *Plata*. Within five leagues of this port he came to the harbour of *Gracia*, or *Martin Alonso*, where he was detained for some time by contrary winds, which rendered his navigation to the destined point very difficult and troublesome. This district did not answer his expectation, as the river was shallow; he therefore steered three leagues back, where he found a deeper one, which fell into the sea, at the western side of a tongue of land, where it formed a very spacious port, but exposed to the north-west winds. The whole fleet came to anchor in this haven, and began to unload in the latter end of December. This place was found extremely well calculated for the establishment of a colony, a fine champaign country, with a village within
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gun-shot of the river. A quantity of stones were found, with convenient situations for aqueducts to divert the water at pleasure. The back was guarded with impenetrable woods; a rock raised its head below the harbour, which might be easily crowned with a fortress; the surrounding sea swarmed with fish, the soil was fertile, and a little higher up a beautiful extensive plain stretched itself along the banks of the river, and according to the statement of the *Indians*, this verdant mead reached to *Cibao*. *Columbus* laid the foundation of a town in this place, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, which was his own expression, which in honour of the *Catholic Queen* was called *Isabella*. Judges and Magistrates were appointed. *Pedro Fernandez Coronel* was made Chief Justice, and *Antonio de Torres*, brother of the Prince *Don Juan's* wet-nurse, was invested with the command of the fort. On the 6th of January, 1494, which was the festival of the Epiphany, in a chapel already erected, a solemn mass was celebrated by thirteen priests. The public build-

ings were carried on with the utmost rapidity; they were composed of free-stone. The private houses were formed of wood, and covered with grass or leaves, and raised with the same activity. At the same time several sorts of seeds were sown, which shot up, as it were, spontaneously. The neighbouring *Indians*, highly pleased, were filled with admiration, and displayed on every occasion the highest respect for the *Spaniards*. They assisted, served, and obeyed them, and parted with their aliments and utensils for any trifle our people pleased to offer them.

BOOK

 BOOK V.

I. **T**HE same zeal which inspired the Admiral to lay the foundation of the colony, encouraged him to find out and provide for every possible means of raising it to a flourishing and prosperous state. His first care was to send out a caravel, with an order to navigate round the island, and to survey its coasts and boundaries. Of the interior face of the country, the qualities of the soil, and natural productions of it, he endeavoured to inform himself by questions, which he frequently put to the natives. He even learned to a degree of certainty that the famous province of *Cibao*, and its rich gold mines, lay at the distance of two or three days march. Such pleasing intelligence kindled the most lively joy in the breasts of our *Spaniards*, but this joy was embittered by a sudden distemper, which seized on most of them. A voyage of three months nearly, living all the time

after their arrival on salt provisions, in part rancid, stale and corrupt food, the change of climate to which they were not accustomed, and the difference of air and water, brought on that kind of fever, which they called *Ceciones*. The disease, however, did not long affect them, as it was of a short duration, and not of a very malignant nature, so that there was no want of labourers to carry on their erections, nor of soldiers to explore the country. So early as in the month of January, a number of habitations being ready, they began to encompass the town with a stone wall, and in that time two expeditions were also prepared, for the discovery of the gold mines, under the command of two gallant young men, *Gorvalan* and *Ojeda*.

II. The number of troops under each commander, amounted to fifteen. They marched to the south, and travelled about twenty leagues in six days. The two first days they passed through an uninhabited district, in a troublesome circuitous manner; after which they came to a hollow passage, which
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was very difficult to pass. Having at length reached a level ground, they crossed the *Yaque*, (which flows westward through an extensive plain, exceedingly fertile and pleasant) and continued their career, but were often interrupted through the officiousness of the islanders. They found themselves at last in a high chain of mountains, which runs along the island in the middle of the province of *Cibao*, which name signifies *Stony*, on account of the quantity of flint stone with which it abounds; a healthy country, devoid of any noxious humidity, or stagnant waters. These mountains gave birth to innumerable rivers, great and small, which flowed in several directions through the pleasant vallies and fields, and might be said in general to roll over golden sand, with which these mountains abound. The *Indians* collected those golden grains in the most artless manner, by making a dam with their hands, taking out a handful of sand with their left, and picking out the glittering ore with their right. Such was the mode in most of the places through which the *Spaniards* passed, to whom the natives brought all the gold

they could gather. When our two Captains returned with such samples of what they were ardently in pursuit, the Colonists, whose spirits were very much depressed, partly through sickness, and partly through the fatigue of labour, began to resume a little hope and courage. For many of them, particularly those of the lower order, began to be very much disheartened. They had joined the expedition through the enthusiastic hopes of finding even the shores heaped with gold. But disappointed and dispirited by the accidents incident to such undertakings, as if nothing was able to satisfy their sordid expectations; they now began to distrust the most flattering and favourable accounts. The Admiral, solicitous to raise their spirits once more by the sight of the gold mines, resolved to go in person to *Cibao*, and to establish a residence for the *Spaniards* in that quarter, as soon as the walls of the town were finished, and the sick, who were in a state of convalescence, recovered.

III. Antecedent to all things, however, he thought it advisable to dispatch thirteen ships to *Spain*, in order to carry home a report of the state of the colony, and a list of the articles he wanted for the maintenance of it. He depicted the beauty and fertility of the country, beyond any other beneath the sun, particularly the happy situation of it, peculiarly favourable to the growth of corn and wine; in this respect he had no hesitation in saying, that it rivalled *Sicily* and *Andalusia*. He deduced this opinion from the rapid vegetation of *European* seeds and plants, especially wheat, vines, and sugar-cane, which sprung up in the fullest luxuriance. He was persuaded that spices and aromatics would be found in abundance, because independent of several sorts of pepper, he discovered the aromatic laurel, the second bark of which he fancied to be the real cinnamon. He expressed the most lively satisfaction, when he touched on the rich gold mines, in which he hoped to find, in the course of a short time, incalculable treasures. At the same time *Fray Boil*, *Sebastian de Olano*, and some others,

others, wrote on the same flattering subjects, and their accounts were confirmed by some respectable persons, particularly *Juan Aguado*, *Maldonado Gorvalan*, who returned with *Torres*, commander of the homeward-bound fleet. *Columbus* sent by this Squadron the gold he had received in *Cibao*, and what he had gained in barter with the *Haytites*, with specimens of fruits and other rare things, and also some *Caribbean* men, women, and children, that they might be instructed in *Spain*, and afterwards employed as interpreters. The inhabitants of all the islands hitherto discovered, seemed to understand each other, though it was observed that there was a considerable diversity of dialect, not only amongst the different islanders, but even in the several provinces, and little districts of *Espanola*. The *Caribs*, who used to traverse all these islands, appeared to him to be the best acquainted with those different modifications of speech, and peculiarly calculated to be instructed. Accordingly the Admiral intended to employ a number of them as interpreters and instruments, for disseminating, by degrees, instruction and religion over the discovered

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territories, persuaded that the doctrines and conversation of Christians would easily wean them from their corrupt inclinations and bad morals. And as a punishment for their inhuman customs, he thought proper to employ them as slaves in the service of the colony; a measure of great importance, calculated in part to gain the affection of the less rude *Indians*, and partly to save the crown a considerable expence, which in the beginning it would be necessary to lay out in the supply of victuals, iron tools, garments, young plants, beasts of burthen, all kind of cattle, and domestic animals. This drain was to be constantly supplied, till their species (of which none existed on the new discovered islands) were sufficient to keep up a competent stock. All these articles could be supplied by the *European* Merchants, on their own account and risk, in order to exchange them for *Caribbean* slaves, whom the inhabitants of *Isabella* would bring to the harbour, lusty docile slaves, who would turn out to be of more use, perhaps, than those to be brought from *Africa*. Duties could also be imposed on wares sent

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to *Spain*, which would swell the profits of the King's Exchequer.

IV. However highly the King and his consort appreciated the advice of the Admiral, and much as they were convinced of the utility of his plan, yet their compassionate feelings induced them to suspend the performance of that project; and they advised *Columbus* rather to endeavour to bring over the *Caribs*, as well as the other islanders, to Christianity, by mild persuasion and gentle means. But the Admiral, who did not duly reflect on the turpitude of a traffic in human flesh, generally introduced to the disgrace of human kind, only looked to the advantages of the crown, and the successful progress of his undertakings. He knew that the equipment of the seventeen ships had exhausted almost all the resources of the mother country, and scarce any means were left to assist him in what he stood in need of. The colony consisted of about a thousand men, whose existence entirely depended on *Spain*. The medicines and aliments brought out had been consumed in consequence

quence of the sickness with which they had been visited. A large quantity of the wine had leaked through the tons in the course of the voyage, so that little was left. Since the salt meat became unfit to eat, there was also a great scarcity of that article. Other food daily decreased; a number of men that were to be equipped wanted arms. There were only twenty-four horses, though a considerable number in addition were required, as the chief strength and superiority of the *Spaniards* depended on their cavalry, because of the terror which the sight of them spread among the ignorant *Indians*. *Columbus* represented the necessity of a speedy supply of this race, and several other things, but he chiefly solicited an immediate store of corn and grain, meat, wine, and medicine for the sick. At the same time he recommended several of his principal companions, but, at the same time, made loud complaints of others, on account of their negligence and disobedience.

V. When the fleet set sail on the 2d of February, he forwarded all the labours requisite

quisite to complete the erection of the town, in order that he might have the pleasure of seeing it finished before he set out on his intended expedition to *Cibao*. This, however, contrary to his expectation, was retarded, in consequence of a fit of sickness that befel him, and partly through a mutiny that was excited during his illness by a party of malcontents, at the instigation of *Bernal Diaz de Pisa*, the head accountant. They preferred, without loss of time, a formal charge of grievances against the Admiral, and formed a plot to set out for *Spain* with five ships, which the Admiral had kept in the harbour. *Columbus* soon recovered from his illness, and when he had discovered the nefarious intrigue, he arrested *Diaz de Pisa*, the ringleader, in order to send him, with a process exhibited against him, to *Castile*, and punished the chief accomplices. By such a rigorous execution of the laws, and by the orders he gave to remove all the furniture and ammunition out of the ships to the main one, under the care of persons on whose fidelity he could depend, he nipped the evil in the bud, and extinguished the sparks

sparks of future mischief. As soon as he had established a salutary government in the town, he set out on the 12th of March for the gold mines, with the greatest part of his men, to the amount of about four hundred, with the horses, and a number of *Indians*.

VI. About four leagues after his outset, he had to encounter the very difficult passage through the mountains, which had impeded those that made the first expedition; he called it *Puerto de los Hidalgos*, (the pass of the noblemen) because some of that class led the way through it. When they had gained the top, they were rewarded with an extensive prospect of the renowned plain which extended on both sides to a considerable length; for it began at the bay of *Samana*, and ran to *Monte Christi*, betwixt two chains of mountains, from whence it lay parallel with *Cape François*. The breadth is various, from two, three, to five miles. It is watered by a vast number of rivulets, in various distances from each other, which by degrees unite and form several considerable rivers, which fall into the sea at the western
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and northern coast. The whole flat resembles a beautiful garden, intersected with canals, formed by wise hands, for the fructification and embellishment of it. The canals are bordered with walks in perpetual verdure, and betwixt them an infinite variety of views and enchanting prospects, groves, gardens full of green herbs, enamelled meads, bushes and tilled fields were sprinkled round in the gayest confusion. This pleasant plain was honoured with the name of *Vega-real*, (the royal field) by the Admiral, who was enamoured with its picturesque charms. The *Spaniards* had only five leagues to travel on the border of this delightful vale, nevertheless they were two days in accomplishing this little march, partly on account of the rivers which interrupted their route, and partly on account of the visits which they paid to several places. *Columbus* intended to avail himself of these opportunities of impressing the *Indians* with an idea of the superior power of the *Europeans*, in order to prepare their minds for a ready submission to our countrymen.

men. For this purpose he caused his troops to march from *Ijabella* in squadrons, with flying colours, to the sound of trumpets, and in this military array they marched through the villages. Most of the astonished inhabitants came flying to them, ready to offer all they possessed in the most submissive manner, others fled in fear and consternation, and the rest enclosed themselves in their cottages, and barricaded their doors with poles and reeds.

VII. When the little army had reached the mountains, they marched very slowly, between hills and mountains, which increased in roughness and steepness in proportion as they advanced. The surface of the ground was generally bare, covered with blue stones, barren hills, that could scarcely cherish a little short grass, but the vallies and low grounds, with which the country abounded, were rich and fertile. The *Cibaes* received the *Spaniards*, and their *Guamiquine*, or great lord as they called him, with great affection. As soon as they were informed of their arrival, they expected them

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with great anxiety, came to meet them, and presented victuals, gold dust, and gold grains of various size. Those that offered the latter, received glass beads, and other trifles in return, with which they were so highly pleased, that they ran immediately to a rivulet, and returned with more gold; they gave two grains of gold, which weighed upwards of an ounce, for a bell, on which they set an inestimable value. The Admiral had not seen any gold grains of this size before, except one, which *Gua-canagari* had given him, and which he sent by *Antonio de Torres* to the *Spanish* monarch. He was now informed by the *Indians*, that in the distance of half a day's journey, gold grains were often found of the weight of five and twenty pounds. He received the same accounts by *Juan de Lujan*, a Knight of *Madrid*, whom he had dispatched with some soldiers to examine a part of the province, which, according to the statement of the *Indians*, began at a little river called *Cibu*, two leagues southward of the river *Yaque*, and ran on in a direct line, nearly to the opposite coast, and still farther to the eastern and western side, so that it

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estimated to be larger than the kingdom of *Portugal*. A Cazique reigned over this territory of the name of *Caonabo*, very much dreaded on account of his savage disposition and power. The *Spaniards*, however, placed a very slight value on the strength of the natives, as they were so stupid as to look on the *Spaniards* as descendants of heaven, and so indolent and inactive, that notwithstanding they had entire forests of cotton, they went naked, and neglected to provide any shelter against the cold air of the mountains, or the heat of the vallies, both of which were in extremes, according to the disposition of the seasons. *Columbus* laid a plan to subjugate them, and to avail himself of the rich productions of their clime. For independent of their gold mines, he discovered spice plants, and aromatics, different from those already known, with a vein of copper, and traces of yellow amber, an article of great value at the time, and much used. In order to put his plan into execution, he caused a solid house of wood and clay to be erected at the river *Janique*, on a little pleasing eminence, about

eighteen leagues from *Isabella*. He gave it the name of *Saint Thomas*, and left fifty-six men and some horses there, under the command of *Pedro Margarit*, and on the 29th of March returned to the town.

VIII. He had scarce reposèd himself from the fatigues of his travel, when he was informed, by a messenger, that the *Indians* had withdrawn from the country he had just visited, and that *Caonabo* evinced an intention to surprize the fort. Though he did not pay much attention to these communications, as he knew the cowardice of the natives, and that the very sight of the horse struck them with such terror, that they dare not approach, yet he dispatched sixty men with ammunition and provisions, and ordered them to take their way through such places where the rivers could be forded with ease, which he knew from experience was the case, with respect to the *Yaque*, and another river running southwards, which he called *del Oro*, or the *Gold River*, on account of some grains of gold found in it. After he had dispatched this party, he resolved to leave in
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the town, only the sick, and workmen indispensably necessary, and to send the rest about the island from the dominions of one *Cazique* to another, in order to spread the dread and terror of the power of the *Spaniards* as wide as possible, to accustom his men to the country, and the food which it produced, and to lengthen out the consumption of their own provisions; a bold resolution, but indispensably necessary, for the security and maintenance of the colonists, who had already experienced the want of *European* nutriment. It is true, they had as yet some wheat, wine, and biscuit, but not sufficient to last them for any time; of these each man's ration was weighed and measured, so that they might be distributed in equal shares amongst all, without any distinction of rank or quality, for the purpose of removing all murmurs and complaints on that score.

IX. This diminution was somewhat relieved by the extraordinary fertility of the soil. On the 30th of March, which was

easter day, one of the agriculturists presented some ears of wheat, which had been sown in the latter end of January. Herbs, pulse, and greens sprung up in three days, and were fit for the table in five and twenty. Of the common vines which grew wild, some were transplanted and pruned, and already yielded palatable grapes. Even our own vines put forth leaves in seven days after they were planted, and were hung with unripe grapes twenty-five days after they were committed to the earth. The sugar-cane shot up in seven days. The peas exceeded those in size that were sown, and the cucumbers and melons tasted very well. These, indeed, were flattering specimens of the mildness of a clime, and the fertility of a soil, where the grass, herbs, and shrubs flourished in unfading verdure, and all the liveliest hues, where the trees bore delicious fruit twice a year, in spring and autumn. But they were mere specimens. For the erection of the town, the expedition to *Cibao*, and the continuance of the fever, left a few hands only to cultivate the ground.

ground. And it was on this account that the *Spaniards* became uneasy, dejected, and longed after their native country again, except a few who had firmness to resist the effects of such incidents. Their distress and dejection were augmented by the strictness of the Admiral, who compelled them to work at the public buildings, to cut canals, erect mills, and to convey other things requisite for the support and maintenance of the establishment. There was none permitted to be idle, even the noblemen, who had no servants, often found themselves reduced to the necessity of grinding their scanty portion of wheat themselves with hand-mills. Sometimes the sick happened to want attendance and nourishment, and he that committed a fault, was punished by the diminution or deprivation of his usual allowance. These gave rise to a thousand complaints and murmurs against the inexorable rigour of the Admiral.

X. *Columbus*, to prevent the dangers which menaced, sent almost all the soldiers, and other persons that were in a good state of

health, and not fit for labour, in all about four hundred men, and sixteen horsemen, on foraging parties; he appointed to the command of the whole, *Pedro Margarit*, a noble *Catalonian*, and Knight of the order of *St. Jago*, in whose prudence he could repose great confidence, and whom he looked on as peculiarly fitted for the discharge of so arduous an undertaking. He ordered him to traverse all the provinces, particularly *Cibao*, to note and examine all the nations, climes, and their productions, to form the troops always together, divided into three columns, to maintain the strictest discipline, in order to prevent all contests betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, and especially the complaints of the latter against the former. He enjoined him to treat the natives with kindness, according to the will of their *Spanish* Majesties, to procure what victuals he thought necessary by barter only, and if they were not to be procured in that manner, to gain them in the least offensive way possible. He ordered *Caonabo* and his brother only to be seized by force or cunning, as accounts were every day received
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of the ferocity of the character of this *Cazique*. He also ordained that the nose and ears of those should be cut off, who should steal any thing of the King's property, as some had done, in the expedition to the gold mines. The army marched out on the 9th of April, under the command of the gallant Captain *Ojeda*, who was to resign it at *Cibao* to *Margarit*, whom he was to succeed as Commandant of *St. Thomas*. The Admiral having released himself from this care by that measure, devoted all his attention to the regulation and concerns of his new town, and in preparing himself for the discovery and conquest of the continent, lest another Christian prince should snatch that honour and prize out of his hand. He thought this the more urgent, as their *Castilian* Majesties laid their commands on him to make this object his chief care, from the suspicions which they entertained of the underhand intentions of the court of *Lisbon*. Nor were the following incidents, which happened some days before, able to check his measures and pursuits.

XI. Some

XI. Some *Indians* resident on the banks of the *Gold River*, stole the garments of three *Spaniards* on their return from *Cibao*, under the artful pretext of carrying them across the river; the *Cazique* took them, it is true, from the thieves, but refused to restore them to the owners, or to punish the criminals. *Ojedo*, fired with rage, caused the ears of an *Indian* to be cut off, seized the *Cazique*, with his brother and cousin, and sent them under an escort to the town. A neighbouring *Cazique* came to intercede for the prisoners, in hopes that in consequence of the good offices he had rendered to our people, his request would be granted. The Admiral treated him with great complaisance, but remained inexorable to his intercession. He ordered the criminals to be conducted to the public place with their hands tied, where sentence of death was pronounced on them by the common crier. The good *Cazique*, however, began afresh to solicit their pardon with tears, and promises that in future they should never commit such a crime again; at last his entreaties prevailed, and they were pardoned, and restored to their liberty. In the mean
time

time one of the horsemen arrived from *St. Thomas*, and reported, that passing through the village which belonged to the imprisoned *Cazique*, he saw five of the foot soldiers surrounded by the *Indians*, and in imminent danger, but that he had relieved them by the means of his horse and his lance, and put four hundred *Indians* to flight, some of whom he had wounded. The Admiral imagined that by such examples and warnings, the country might be tranquillized for the present, so that his continuation of the regulations of the colony, and preparations for the expedition, went on without interruption. He took particular care to erect mills, as the want of them was very severely felt by the inhabitants of *Isabella*. He committed the government of the island to a council, and appointed his brother *Don Diego* president of it, and father *Fray Boil*, *Pedro Fernandez Coronel*, *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, and *Juan de Lujan*, Counsellors. He left the two greatest ships in the harbour, and set out on his voyage of discovery on the 24th of April, with the *Nina*, or *Santa Clara*, *S. Juan* and *Cardera*.

XII. After he had sailed along the northern coast of *Esplanola* eastward to the cape of *St. Nicolas*, he steered to *Cuba*, and began to sail along the southern coasts; when he had made about twenty leagues, he cast anchor in a port, remarkable for its safety, depth, and spaciousness, which he had justly named *Grande*, (Great) a name which was afterwards changed into that of *Guantanamo*. Two small houses stood on the shore, and a good store of food was placed by the side of them, such as *Iguanas*, the greatest delicacy amongst the *Indians*, the *Utias*, in shape resembling little rabbits, with a head like a mouse, and some fish. Some *Spaniards* went on shore to take a slight view of the country. They discovered about seventy islanders, who, as it appeared, were busy in preparing a feast. They ran off with fear at the sight of the ships. They were, however, prevailed upon to approach by the means of *Diego Colon*, a *Lucayan* lad, whose native language was understood in those parts. The Admiral presented them with some toys, for which they offered some victuals in return. They entertained the same idea of the celest-

celestial descent of the *Spaniards*, with their northern neighbours on the first voyage. The rumour of their heaven-born visitants spread amazing fast. When the vessels sailed westward on the first and second of May, the *Indians* came in crowds, in their canoes, and offered cazabe, fruits, fish, and gourd bottles filled with water. The shore was also thronged with men, women, and children, who invited the *Spaniards* to land, and come to their houses, where they offered them all that they possessed. They were repaid with glass beads, bells, and little drums, which they received as divine presents. The usual enquiry after gold was made, which was answered by pointing to the south.

XIII. As the Admiral was steering in that direction, after a course of twenty-five leagues, he discovered *Jamaica*, an island so populous, pleasant, and beautiful, that he preferred it to all those he had hitherto discovered. He called the district where he landed in the middle of the northern coast, *Santa Gloria*, as he believed that its enchanting

chanting charms were only to be compared to the abode of the blest. This harbour was afterwards called *Santa Anna*. Several boats which were sent westwards to seek after other ports, that might be more commodious for careening the *Nina*, found a harbour, after they had rowed four leagues, which answered that purpose. The fleet sailed into it, and remained in it for three days. They gave it the name of *Puerto bueno*, a name retained to this day by a neighbouring river. Here, as well as in *Santa Gloria*, they were met by an immense number of canoes; the islanders that were in them were armed, and whilst yet at a distance, darted their arrows and sharp sticks at our men, menacing at the same time with hideous howlings and roaring, to prevent a landing. In the first instance the mediation of the *Lucayan* interpreter, and some trinkets shewn and offered to them were resorted to, which disarmed them of their hostility, but now, lest they should fancy that moderation was shewn through pusillanimity and weakness, *Columbus* ordered some grape shot to be fired on them, by which about seven were wounded,

wounded, and the rest put to flight; after which a large dog was let loose, which pursued and frightened them exceedingly, so that not one of them appeared the whole of the day. On the following morning, however, they seemed to resume their courage; they advanced at first in small parties successively, and at last a large body approached by land and water, for the purpose of barter. They resembled in general the *Haytites*, and the inhabitants of *Cuba*. Most of them were black, some with their skins painted in various colours. Many of them wore feathers on their head, their breasts and loins were shaded with palm-tree leaves. Some of their canoes were ornamented with carved work, and paintings on the sterns. Several of these boats were of considerable size, each made out of a single trunk. One of them was measured, and found to be ninety-six feet long, and eight broad. Their food, though of the same kind with that of the other islanders, was much more palatable. The natives were also much more ingenious and industrious than the rest, and the arts more advanced. The Admiral took possession

sion of the island, and honoured it with the name of *Santiago*. His main ship being refitted, he continued his course westward. He sailed twenty-four leagues to the large bay, which forms itself to the south, called *Galfo Buentempo*; a name imposed from this incident, that the contrary winds, which had prevailed for some time, and prevented them from sailing along the coast, began to be more favourable.

XIV. The hopes of discovering gold, had led *Columbus* out of his intended course, but as he could find no traces of it in *Jamaica*, he bore off to *Cuba*, resolved to coast that country to the length of five or six hundred leagues, in order to assure himself if it was a continent. In the middle of May, he reached a cape upwards of four degrees beyond the western point, which he called *Santa Cruz*. A long string of innumerable isles, some of which are flat and sandy, others high and cloathed with grass and verdant shrubs, and more so in proportion to their contiguity to *Cuba*, intercept the prospect of this cape, and prevent the passage

sage to it. The whole group received the name of the *Queen's Garden*. The ships were frequently in danger of being lost in this labyrinth, especially as they were unexpectedly surprized with a tempest, accompanied with dreadful peals of thunder and flashes of lightning. It was proposed to sail into the open sea, but the Admiral, who saw that the coast ran westwards, did not wish to lose sight of land; he also conjectured that this Archipelagus might, perhaps, be that of the five thousand islands, which *Marco Polo*, and *Mandeville*, describe in their accounts of the extreme of *India*. He steered about a month westwards through continued cliffs and incessant dangers, in various windings, on account of the several shoals, and the course of the canals which separate the isles.

XV. He sent several of the men, at different times, on the shores of *Cuba*, to examine the nature of the country, and its inhabitants, and to inform themselves whether it was an island or a continent. Many of the natives assured him it was an island, but all agreed that the coast extended to

an immense length; others said, that farther to the west it was inhabited by men, who wore cloaths, with tails, and governed by a great *Cazique* of the name of *Magon*. *Columbus* supposed, they meant perhaps the province of *Mango*, and was confirmed in this idea when he heard some other words, which in sound resembled those he had met with in *Mandeville's* writings. As the language of the islanders in this part was unintelligible to the interpreter, his opinion could be only founded on signs and gestures; it was, however, strengthened by the narration of one of our archers, who, whilst wood and water was laying in, ventured a little farther into the country; and as he traversed a wood, saw on a sudden a man dressed in white; at first he thought it was the chaplain of the fleet, a friar of the order of the merciful Brothers; but the appearance in an instant of two similar persons undeceived him, and at a little distance he saw about thirty in the same cloathing. Alarmed at so unusual a sight, he ran to the ships with this account. But what were these white figures which he pretended to have seen?

apparitions

apparitions which his fearful imagination had formed; or a tale invented for mere sport. In reality, such beings were never found, or any thing like them. Notwithstanding this, the *Spaniards* were very much alarmed in consequence of two troops having been sent to reconnoitre the country, because one of them experienced much difficulty in penetrating woods, and traversing marshy grounds and flats; and the other which roved along the shore returned with new stories of monstrous phantoms. The scene of these visions bordered on the harbour of *Trinidad*, where the crew recovered from its fear and panic in an open and spacious tract of sea.

XVI. *Columbus* followed the former course, and in a short time met other groups of islands, and with them new dangers, difficulties, and troubles. The Admiral absolutely wanted to steer north-west of the island of *Pinos*, which he called *Evangelista*; here he observed that the coast bent southwards, as he expected, according to the statements of the forementioned geographers. Reckoning from the beginning of *Cuba* to

this place, he had now sailed three hundred and thirty-five leagues; he learned besides from the natives, that they did not know the extent of this country, though they knew that it exceeded twenty days travelling. On comparing these circumstances, he pronounced the decisive judgement, which he had often expressed during the voyage, "that this country was the beginning of *India*, which, he had intended to come to from *Spain*;" a decision which he caused to be published aboard the three ships, by *Fernan Perez de Luna*, the secretary, accompanied by four witnesses; and he offered to prove it, if any person entertained the least doubt of it. The fifty seamen who were on board the fleet, and amongst whom there were many well skilled in delineating maps, and the most celebrated pilots, all concurred in opinion with the Admiral, particularly because they found the southern direction of the coast confirmed as the Admiral had predicted. Thus, after he had made his declaration on oath, the clerk gave a formal attestation of it, on board the *Nina*, on the 12th of June.

Strange

Strange precipitation ! A cabbin boy from the mast top, saw the point of *Piedras*, and the open main, and had *Columbus* continued his course westward only one day more, he would have gained the end of the fancied continent ; nor did the nakedness and barbarity of the islanders correspond in the least to the well known culture of the *East Indies*. For all that, prepossessed in favour of his new system, he imagined himself to be in the *Chinese* ocean, and of course almost about the half of the globe farther than he really was, and so near the *Chersonesus Aurea*, or as it is now called, the peninsula of *Molaca*, that according to his opinion, he only wanted thirty degrees to join his discoveries to the seas and countries known to the ancients. Filled with this idea, he wished to be able to navigate through the *Indian* ocean to the *Red Sea*, and thus after having sailed round the whole globe to return to *Europe* ; but the scarcity of provisions, the bad condition of his ships, and the pusillanimity of the crews, obliged him to return to *Espanola*.

XVII. After he had got clear of the shelves and sandbanks, which consumed a good deal of time, he steered slowly to the east, with variable gales and showers of rain. Now he came on shelves, and then he found himself in a land-locked canal, and to his unspeakable distress, the *Nina* struck on the strand, so that for a long time it was thought impossible to get her off; at last they got her afloat, but not till she had damaged her prow. On the 6th of July, he landed at the northern point of the bay, which commences near the *Cape of Santa Cruz*. A mass was celebrated in the presence of many *Indians*, who, in imitation of the *Spaniards*, seriously and silently observed the ceremony. When the service was ended, an old man approached the Admiral, and made a long speech, in which he expressed the pleasure which he felt in having witnessed such acts of worship and submission to the Supreme Being, by men who had raised such terror in the country, and exhorted him to peace and kindness, reminding him, that all men are born and subject to death, and that the good men, who never injure their fellow creatures, live
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in a delightful place with the King of Heaven, when this short life is past; the wicked, on the contrary, are doomed to pass their time in the abyss of the earth. So much of his admonitory address was understood, and the words explained by the *Lucayan* interpreter, corresponded with the signs made by the speaker. *Columbus*, who was surprized to hear such exalted sentiments from the lips of a naked barbarian, whose only ornament was a string of stone beads, declared, through the interpreter, that he was convinced of the very same doctrine, and that he came in the name of the *Castilian* Monarch, to render all nations happy, to punish the *Caribs* and other cruel people, and to let the good enjoy all clemency and honour. In addition to this, he described the splendor and power of their Majesties, their courts, armies, fleets, and other brilliant things, which the *Lucayan* painted in lively colours. The good old man shed tears of joy, and had he not been prevented by his wife and children, he would have gone with the *Spaniards* to see whether the country of these admirable navigators belonged to heaven or to the earth. The

crew remained in this place to the 16th, and the fleet rode at anchor in a river, which received the name of the *Holy Mass*. On the 18th they cast anchor eastward of the *Cape of Cruz*, after having sustained a tempest of wind and rain, the violence of it was such, as to occasion the Admiral to declare he would not expose himself to such dangers for any personal advantages whatever, if it were not in consideration of the service of God, and his zeal for the extension of the monarchy that excited him. Severe conflicts call forth in man, the real and most concealed affections of the heart.

XVIII. The toils and troubles for two months, in reality, were excessive and unremitting, notwithstanding the mind was occasionally relieved and exhilarated with the view of pleasant objects, such as the beauty and amenity of the country in general, the extraordinary fertility of the soil, in a profusion of herbs, plants, and trees of innumerable kind, and of almost every size; spring and autumn, blended together in the richest variety of blossoms, fruits, and flowers;
the

the air as mild and warm as in summer; large marshy meadows, covered with grass, as high as wheat in the ear. Many places dispensed such odoriferous gales, that the Admiral believed that they consisted of entire groves of aromatics and spices, and he collected a quantity of aromatic fruit trees. His attention was not less attracted by the *Uveros*, or wild vines, loaded with unripe grapes, a species very different from those known in *Europe*; the *Hiburás*, or trees which produce gourds, fit for every sort of vessels. Birds abounded in every place, with melodious notes; parrots, land and sea ravens, birds of rose coloured plumage, like cranes, but larger; others like ringdoves, the flesh of which emitted a certain kind of flavor, and excelled in taste the partridge. The sea displayed a strange variety of colours, according to the different particles of the soil mixed with it. An immense number of tortoises were seen, the common ones three yards in diameter, some of them much larger, their nests in the sand holes abundant, and full of eggs; but nothing excited so much admiration as the strange mode of fishing for them. The *Indians*
 caught

caught a marine fish of the size of a herring, which tied to a thin line, and thrown into the sea, alights upon the tortoise, and fixes on it, with the upper part of its back, which is armed with strong sharp stings, on which it, together with its prey, is drawn out by the string. The islanders called this fish *Guaycan*, the *Spaniards* *Reverso* (reverse) because it is commonly caught hanging by the back on sharks and other fish. The *Spaniards* could not help admiring the serenity and patience of these fishermen, as well as their industry and dexterity. They remained in their canoes so intent upon their business, that even a *Spanish* boat, which might be supposed to be a strange sight to them, did not draw their attention from it, and as soon as they caught a tortoise, they presented the fruit of their labour, in a gentle manner, to the *Spaniards*.

XIX. All the inhabitants of this coast displayed the same frankness and want of timidity on every occasion, except the natives of a little isle, who fled before our people. All the rest approached with cheerfulness
and

and without any fear, and brought cotton, bread, fruits, fish, birds, and young rabbits of various kinds; aliments which came very opportunely, as the *Spaniards* were reduced to a very small remains of wine, and bad biscuit, of which the crews, from the Admiral to the cabin boy, were obliged to content themselves with a small portion. They could procure fish easily enough, but the excessive heat and moisture scarce permitted to preserve them one day. Thus our countrymen were obliged to accustom themselves to *Indian* food. The flesh of the little mute dogs, which they looked on before with disgust, was now as palatable as that of a kid; the *Iguanas* * only, the favourite delicacy of these nations were found inedible. The company of the islanders, and their gentle good-natured temper, delighted the *Spaniards* to the 22d of July. They waited in vain for fair winds to carry them to *Esplanola*, and to finish their troublesome voyage.

* Leguans, a kind of great lizard.

XX. The sagacious Admiral, according to his usual custom of turning every circumstance whatever to some advantage, availed himself of this contrary wind to pursue his examinations on the southern side. As soon as he had reached *Jamaica*, he continued his survey from the bay of *Buen-Tiempo* along the western and southern coasts. He fancied he saw a single mountain which extended from west to east, the top of which reached above the clouds; it rose out of the sea, and on account of its gradual declivity, seemed easy of ascent. His ideas of the population, culture, abundance, richness of the productions, and food of the island, increased in proportion as he became acquainted with it. As far as the eye could reach, it seemed to be thickly planted with villages and dwellings; the inhabitants cheerfully approached, and furnished the *Spaniards* with abundance; a country so happy and inviting had not yet presented itself, nor coasts abounding in such convenient harbours. The ships steered very slowly along the eastern coast, because the winds were usually contrary; besides this, they were incommoded with daily rains,

rains, the unpleasant effects of which they had already experienced on the coast of *Cuba*, and the little isles scattered round it, a consequence of the abundance of humidity in the low districts, where the water is prevented from flowing off, and which are covered with thick grass, shrubs and trees. The clouds formed by these humid exhalations, dissolve into rain during the night ; if such a swamp was cultivated and drained, this inconvenience would cease.. Thus the Admiral concluded, in consequence of the experiments he had made in the *Canary* islands, *Madeira*, and the *Azores*.

XXI. On the 19th of August he lost sight of the eastern point of *Jamaica*, which he called *Farol*, now known by the name of *Cape de Morante*. He computed the circuit of the island to be about 800 leagues ; and afterwards, on a more accurate examination, he reckoned its length to be about fifty, and its breadth twenty. From the above named Cape, to the most western point of *Espanola*, now called *Tiburón*, he computed the distance to be thirty leagues ; he discovered

vered it on the 20th of *August*, and called it *S. Michael*. He did not know where he was for two days, till he heard the word *Admiral*, and other *Spanish* vocables from the lips of a *Cazique*, who gave him several accounts of the terror which the *Spaniards* had spread over the whole island. As he steered eastward along the southern coast he lost sight of the two ships, *Cardera* and *S. Juan*. In order to wait for them, he cast anchor at *Altovelo*, a little uninhabited isle, which has retained that name ever since. Eight sharks, which were quietly sleeping near the shore, were killed here, with a number of birds, so tame, that they permitted the people to approach them, probably because they never had been disturbed before. On the first of September the ships met together again, and sailed to *La Beata*, and from thence farther beyond the mouth of the river *Neyba*, where they discovered a very pleasant flat ground, every where covered with cottages and dwellings, so that as far as the distance of a league it appeared like one village. The inhabitants came in their canoes to the ships with agreeable news of the colony, and that
some

some *Spaniards* had arrived amongst them, by whom the Admiral resolved to send an account to *Isabella* of his safe arrival, on which he steered farther eastwards, and dispatched nine men with an order to traverse the island straightways, and to go to the fort of *S. Thomas*, and to another which he had established in *Vega Real*, called *Magdalena*.

XXII. The fleet continued its course. A large village was discovered, and when some mariners landed in boats, to water, the inhabitants endeavoured to hinder them; some armed with bows and poisoned arrows, others with ropes in their hands, as it were to tie their prisoners. Our mariners intrepidly went on shore in defiance of their menaces, on which the inhabitants, instead of maintaining their hostile appearance, enquired for the Admiral, offered peace, and all that they possessed. The ships were separated on the 14th of September in a violent gale. *Columbus*, who had prognosticated a tempest from the sight of a grampus and other omens, sought shelter in the canal which is formed
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at the point of the southern coast, by the little isle of *Saona*, which the islanders called *Adamancy*. The following night he observed a lunar eclipse, and in consequence of his calculation, he estimated the distance between *Saona* and the *Cape Saint Vincent*, at a little more than five hours and a half, though in reality it did not even amount to four hours. Here he remained seven days, without knowing what became of the other vessels, till they happened to come together again after the storm. On the 24th of September he sailed to *Mona*, or *Amona*, as the *Indians* pronounced it, a petty isle lying between *Espanola* and *S. Juan*. He would fain have steered farther eastwards, in order to accomplish the discovery of the *Caribbee* islands; but his physical powers sunk under the exertions of his great mind; exhausted with unremitting fatigues, continual watchings, and miserable food, he fell into an entire lethargy, totally deprived of the use of his senses. The crew, apprehensive of his dissolution, steered to *Isabella*, and through the favour of the east winds commonly prevalent

valent in those seas, they reached the wished for port on the 29th of September.

XXIII. The Admiral recovered by degrees through great and sedulous attendance. The joy of finding his brother *Bartholomew* in *St. Isabella*, did not a little contribute to the return of his health; as he found in him a faithful friend, an old companion, a man of undaunted courage, enlarged knowledge and judgement, who would now share with him the heavy burden of his weighty cares. The intelligence which *Bartholomew* imparted, afforded him much consolation. After many troubles and disappointments, he had obtained the declaration of the King of *England* at last, that his Majesty had resolved to undertake the discovery. He had the satisfaction of finding himself received with much kindness and esteem as he passed through *Paris*, by the King of *France*, who had already been informed of the astonishing voyage of the Admiral, and made him a present of a hundred dollars. He received still greater honours and presents from their *Spanish* Majesties, to whom he was pre-

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fented,

sented, in company with his two nephews, *Diego* and *Fernando*; they remained at court in quality of pages to the Prince, a grace conferred on them out of respect to their father. *Bartholomew* himself was ennobled with the title of *Don*, and appointed captain of three caravels, on which he set sail in the month of April for *Espanola*, taking along with him, a quantity of provisions and other things which the Admiral had desired through *Antonio de Torres*, who had arrived in *Spain* a month before. He delivered, besides, a letter to *Columbus*, from their Majesties, in which they approved, in respectful expressions, the conduct of the Admiral in all his transactions, preparations, and undertakings. They encouraged him to persevere, with additional promises of reward for his important services, and to punish those that disobeyed his orders, or would attempt to impede his projects; finally, they promised to send him in a short time, the provisions that he required, by another fleet, and then to give him a more circumstantial answer.

XXIV. *Columbus* in a short time received the new supply thus promised. Four ships, under the command of *Torres*, arrived, and with them a good quantity of the wished for refreshments, stuffs, and other commodities. The latter were to be sold at a moderate price for the use of private persons, according to a tax fixed by *Fonseca*. Miners, beasts for slaughter, cattle, and animals for breed, garments, beds, curtains, preserves, pickles, and other sauces for the Admiral. But that which afforded him the most unmixed pleasure, were the letters which were addressed to him from the court; his conduct was praised in terms of gratitude and respect. "We wish with all our hearts," said the King and Queen "that we could be with you, and avail ourselves of your advice." They informed him of the treaty which they had concluded with *Portugal*, and wished for his advice and assistance in drawing the boundary line. All those whom he had nominated to offices were confirmed in them, and fixed salaries annexed to them; and those whom he had recommended were peculiarly noticed. He was authorized to fill places

of the thousand persons in the King's pay, as often as they became vacant; and to give them to any one of the two hundred volunteers and upwards, whom he should deem qualified and able to fill them. - Those who had acted up to the Admiral's satisfaction received the thanks of their Majesties; those on the contrary, who were turbulent, negligent, or disobedient, were censured severely. Their Majesties concern for the growth and prosperity of the colony evidently appeared from the orders which they had given to the Archdeacon *Fonseca*, to send out ships successively, for the purpose of supplying the colonists with all sorts of provisions and ammunition; and the embargo with respect to the exportation of corn for *India* on that account was repealed, and the duties were abolished, as well as every other article requisite for that quarter, and the commerce with the colony. It was finally determined to send out a caravel every month, and to expect one in the same time, which could easily be done, as the *Spanish* navigation had nothing to apprehend from the *Portuguese*. The conversion of the natives

natives passed over in silence ; the King and his consort, as a proof of the interest which they took in it, exhorted father *Boil* to remain on the island, and to follow up the holy design for which he had set out, though he wrote that his residence there was fruitless, and that from his ignorance of the language he could not be of any utility. They answered that this difficulty was easy to be conquered, as the zealous *Fray Roman Pane* really got the better of it very soon.

XXV. But the real cause was, that *Boil* could not accustom himself to a way of living so different from the tranquillity and repose of his hermitage. Instead, therefore, of qualifying himself for the office for which he was appointed, he availed himself of the first opportunity of returning to *Spain*, with the ships which *Bartholomew Colon* had brought over. Thus he set off as a deserter, from a place where his advice and presence would have been most useful in the absence of the Governor, and what was more, by his desertion he inflamed the minds of the other malcontents, especially his countryman

Margarit, the author of all the disorders, which threw the colony and the whole island into the greatest distress and danger. This man was general of the *Spanish* troops, but he neither acted according to the instructions which he had received on being appointed to that rank, nor acknowledged the superior authority of the Council of Government; on the contrary, he usurped an arbitrary and despotic power, and acted without any reflection on his duty. He tainted our people with the plague of discord, and kindled in the *Indians* a deadly hatred and detestation of the *Spanish* name; he kept the army continually in the most cultivated and best provisioned district of *Vega-real*, where he permitted them to revel, and indulge in every possible licentiousness. Who should not know the outrageness of such a dissolute body? At last he was so far forgetful of his duty as to leave his post, without intrusting any person with his command, and returned to *Spain*. The licentiousness and insolence of the soldiery arose to such a degree that the inhabitants were no longer able to endure it. The *Spaniards*, without any head to keep them together,

together, roved in single pillaging parties, and yielded themselves up entirely to the dictates of necessity, lust, and irregular passions. Tired with such enormities, the poor *Indians* passed from fear and horror to despair. The weakness of their arms was supplied by number, and they began to kill the *Spaniards*; so as their multitudes increased they continued their hostilities; they began to rove through and pillage the new establishments of their enemies, and drove them back into the town and forts; and even then they continued to harraß them. *Caonabo* invested *S. Thomas*, and reconnoitered the strength of *Isabella*, in order to repeat, if possible, the spectacle which he had exhibited at *Navidad*. *Guatignana*, Cazique of the province of *Macorix*, where the fort of *Magdalena* was erected, killed ten foldiers, and set fire to a house in which forty sick men were confined to their bed. The islanders united together in many places of *Cibao* and *Vega* in vast multitudes, and menaced the entire destruction of the colony.

XXVI. Thus affairs came to a very alarming degree, because the Governor was

upwards of four weeks before he recovered, so that in all that time he could not adopt any measure to restrain or put an end to the evil. It might also be, perhaps, that he reckoned too much on the gentleness of the *Indians*, and hoped they would become calm and quiet, as soon as the *Spaniards* would behave with more moderation; or he had no apprehension that they would so speedily cast off the high ideas and reverence with which they were impressed for a race descended from Heaven, and dare to wage offensive war against them; nor did he give entire credit to the words of *Guacanagari*, who came to visit him, and at the same time disclosed to him the conspiracy of the three great *Caziques*, *Guarionex*, *Behechio*, and *Caonabo* and of many other petty *Caziques*, who had formed a plot to drive the foreigners out of the island, or to destroy them entirely; he added that he himself was very much persecuted, because he refused to join in this plot, and had always entertained a hundred *Spaniards* in the best manner possible, and rendered them every favour and service in his power. As a reward for his faithful services, he requested assistance

ance against the common enemy. The Admiral began to open his eyes, when he heard of the temerity and insolence of *Guatignana*, who was within two days march of the town, in a hostile manner. He determined to take revenge on him. He marched with a sufficient number of troops to the fort of *Magdalena*; he found it surrounded by a multitude of *Indians*, and the captain *Luis de Arriga* in the utmost distress; however, he put the unarmed pusillanimous horde to flight with little difficulty. As to the *Cazique* he could not get him into his power, but he punished him severely in his subjects, many of whom he rendered slaves, and brought the whole province of *Macorix* into subjection, on which he hastened eastwards to the dominions of *Guarionex*, who undoubtedly thrown into fright by the dreadful example of his neighbour, submitted himself to the Admiral, and granted an establishment of the *Spaniards* in his country, for which purpose the Admiral caused the fort *de la Concepcion* to be erected.

XXVII. When he came back to *Isabella*, on the 24th of February 1495, he dispatched
Torres

Torres with his four ships laden with *Indian* slaves, for the purpose of being sold at *Seville*, except a few which he wished to be instructed in the *Spanish* language. He also sent by the same vessels a quantity of gold, with samples of other minerals, and delicious fruits; among other things a sort of copper, and dye-wood like *Brazil* wood, an important article in the commerce of those days. *Don Diego Columbus* accompanied *Torres* in this voyage; sent perhaps by his brother, to defeat the malicious calumnies which it was justly apprehended *Fray Boil*, *Margarit*, and others of the same party, might disseminate at court, to the disadvantages of *India*, and the management of its affairs. The Admiral would have undertaken the voyage himself for this purpose, if his presence had not been more necessary in *Espanola*, to avenge the murders committed in *Espanola* on the christians, to subdue and pacify the whole island. The fierce and stubborn *Caonabo* created the most care and inquietude, for instead of being warned by the slaughter and conquest of *Macorix*, in which it is probable many of his vassals suffered, he did not cease

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to harrafs *Ojeda* in *S. Thomas*, and to unite the natives of that district against the *Spaniards*. Our people, who wished to subdue him and make him a prisoner, set out on the 24th of March out of town, to the number of two hundred infantry and twenty cavalry, with twenty large dogs. *Guacanagari* was present at this expedition, and was made to believe that it was undertaken on his account, because *Columbus* hoped to facilitate the subjection of the country by saving and cherishing the seeds of discord amongst the *Caziques*. At the close of the second days, march they observed a vast number of *Indians* in *Vega-real*, to the amount of about a hundred thousand. The Admiral supposed it would be no difficult matter to rout them; he divided his troops, and placed one division under the command of his brother *Don Bartholomew*, in order to attack the enemy on both sides at one time. The dastardly crowd was put to flight on the first discharge of the bows and musquetry; the report and destruction of the guns threw them into the greatest disorder and fear, and each division broke in on them; the horses and the dogs occasioned

occasioned the greatest terror and confusion ; they fled with the utmost precipitation, and the *Spaniards* who pursued them made a terrible slaughter amongst them. Many of them were seized alive, and condemned to slavery ; the greatest part were indebted for their safety to their flight ; some escaped into their provinces, and others fled to the mountains, where they wandered about and communicated this disastrous defeat to other islanders, who were so panic struck with the account, that they looked upon the *Spaniards* as invincible, and no person had courage to offend them.

XXVIII. The alarm and dismay reached *Caonabo*, and his troops raised the siege of fort *Thomas*, which they had invested for thirty days successively. Nevertheless, the Admiral was not satisfied till he had got this dangerous *Cazique* into his power. For that purpose he set out for *S. Thomas*, from whence he dispatched *Ojedo*, with some horsemen to him, to invite him in a friendly manner, and to bring him along with him, under the pretext of a pacific visit. His residence

residence was in *Maguana*, a province adjoining to *Cibao*, which extends westwards to the river *Neyba*, into which the second *Yaque* falls. This river rises in *Cibao*, not far from the source of the great *Yaque*, and runs in the opposite direction through an even ground, not very extensive, but beautiful and pleasant. *Ojeda* met the *Cazique* about half a mile from the river. The last victory gained by the *Spaniards* had already rendered him more tame, flexible and gentle, and as *Ojeda* convinced him by remonstrances that he would expose his person and dominion to unavoidable danger, if he did not accept of the invitation which he brought him, and present himself to the invincible *Guami-quina* of the christians, as this would be the only means to insure his favour and friendship. After much persuasion, he consented at last to accompany him; distrustful, however, of the result, he took a numerous retinue with him, under the pretext that the dignity and authority of his person demanded such a guard; but his precaution was of little service to him; the prudent and resolute captain found means to separate him from his

his people, and when he had so done, he ordered him to be tied on the back of his horse, and galloped off in full speed with his prisoner till he delivered him into the hands of the Admiral. He was imprisoned in *Isabella*, a process made out against him, and from the testimony of witnesses and his own confession, it appeared that he was the contriver and author of the fire which laid *Navidad* in ashes, that he had cherished a similar intention against *Isabella*; that he was the cause of the murder of twenty *Spaniards*, and had plotted the destruction of the whole colony. His high dignity saved his life, which was not the case with those who had been made prisoners in the battle at *Vega-real*. A reasonable indulgence, and the more so as the islanders were exceedingly cowardly, and accordingly it did not seem necessary to exceed the caution of removing the only ring-leader who might excite fresh commotions; his person and cause were therefore resigned to the Monarch of *Spain*. The only suspicions that remained were against his family, one brother especially, who was celebrated for his intrepid courage.

XXIX. In order to extinguish those apprehensions, reinforcements were sent to *S. Thomas*, with an order to *Ojeda* to subjugate the provinces of *Cibao* and *Maguana*, a resolution occasioned by the conduct of the same *Caonabo*, as *Pedro Martir* writes. The imprisoned *Cazique* raged and foamed in the beginning, with all the fury of a wild beast, bound with chains. After his frenzy had abated, he gave out that his country had become a prey to the devastations of certain *Caziques*, and requested the Admiral to defend them by sending a competent number of *Spaniards* thither. His real hope was, that his brother, either through art or force might be able to succeed in seizing on so many of our people as would be sufficient to ransom him; his artful and designing schemes were however seen through, and *Ojeda* set out, well armed and prepared with proper force, to *Maguana*. Scarce had he arrived in that province, when he discovered about five thousand *Indians*, with arrows, *Macanas*, (stone swords) and sharp pointed sticks, headed by the brother of *Caonabo*. He marched with the utmost intrepidity to meet them,

them, and observed this hostile body divide itself into four columns; they marched up in good order and took a position, calculated to surround him. Without giving them time to accomplish this plan, he attacked the front division in an open field where the horses could act. The *Indians*, unable to withstand the violence of the spirited animals which they dreaded so much, fell into disorder and betook themselves to flight. The *Spaniards* killed and wounded all those that fell within their reach; the consequence of which was that the other divisions caught the alarm, some fled to the mountains, and others surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion, and offered to enter into the service of the christians, if permitted to remain in their natural state. This moderate request was acceded to, and tranquillity was restored throughout the province. The soldiers returned to *Isabella* with *Caonabo's* brother prisoner, and such of his family whom they could seize.

XXX. The *Indians* were now so much tamed, that if they met a *Spaniard*, they endeavoured to the utmost of their power to
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express their complaisance towards him, and to carry him upon their shoulders, even when he was by himself and unarmed. Hitherto they dreaded that the *Caribs*, whom they looked on with horror and detestation, would one day or other become their masters, according to the interpretation of a certain revelation, which a *Cazique*, recently deceased, pretended to have received from his idol. Now, when they found that the *Caribs* only invaded them for the purpose of pillage, and returned again to their islands, the *Spaniards*, on the contrary, took up their abode in their country, and erected new houses every day; they looked on this pretended prophecy to be fulfilled, and applied it to those new enemies. It is probable that the belief of this unavoidable decree of fate, contributed, in a considerable degree, to the submission of a numerous people to six hundred men, most of whom were sick. The Admiral now undertook another journey through the principal provinces, and without drawing a sword, he prevailed on their *Caziques* to acknowledge the sovereignty of the King of *Spain* and his Royal consort, and

to pay them tribute. This tribute was imposed as a poll-tax on all the *Indians* who were upwards of fourteen years of age, and was to be paid at the end of every three months. The tax laid on the inhabitants of *Cibao*, and the districts adjoining that country, was to deliver each as much gold dust as a bell would contain, and for the rest to deliver five and twenty pounds of cotton per head; a very heavy and impolitic tax. It was expected that this imposition would bring in each day of payment, about twenty thousand pesos, yet there were scarcely received two hundred in the three first quarters, and doubtless the receipts of the two or three subsequent quarters would have been still less productive if the payment of them had been rigidly exacted. But the poverty and want of industry among the inhabitants induced the *Spaniards* to relinquish the rigour with which they had began to enforce the collection of it, especially as after so many wanton pillages, and the pacification of the island, as it was called, most of the villages were deserted, the cultivated fields abandoned, and the islanders sought dens and caverns.

caverns. This lamentable condition, not less prejudicial to the conquered, than to the conquerors, was rendered still worse by the imposition of the tax, and the severity with which it was collected. The Admiral connived at the latter, from an impatient desire to collect as speedily as possible a great deal of gold, and other precious articles, in order to be able to furnish the necessary expences for his undertakings. If, thought he, instead of drawing on the King's treasury, he could enrich it, he might be sure of the favour of the court; otherwise he feared his enemies might succeed in supplanting him, and his fear was not groundless.

XXXI. In fact, the complaints of his severity in the punishment of some delinquents, the rigour with which he, and his brothers in particular, withheld the daily pittance of the people; the remonstrance, how little the country had answered the flattering expectations which he had held out of it; and other calumnies, or perhaps exaggerated accusations, occasioned a resolution of the court, to commission some person to inquire into

the complaints and charges preferred against *Columbus*. Their Majesties, at first, intended to nominate *Diego Carillo*, a knight of the order of *Malta*, or some other distinguished and reputable person for that purpose ; but on a sudden, *Juan Aguado*, steward of the King's household, who had been in *India*, and returned with *Torres*, highly recommended by the Admiral, was appointed. They shewed, it seems, a respect for the Admiral, as well in the choice of the commissioner, as in the limitation of his time and power, which he was entrusted with. Their Majesties declared, that this commission was instituted in consequence of a report that the Admiral had died on the voyage to *Cuba* ; but that in case he was alive, and in *Espanola*, their will was, that he should be obeyed in whatever he might propose, and that the commissioner should not proceed any farther than to take informations and then return, and make a report. Their Majesties particularly testified their approbation and pleasure to the Admiral with respect to the good accounts received through *Torres*, in the beginning of April. They also ordered that
a quantity

a quantity of gold, which had been withheld from *Don Diego Colon* in the harbour, should not only be given up to him, but that also satisfaction should be made to him. Finally, they ordered that a letter should be written to his brother, in such terms as would please him, and remove every suspicion of his having incurred any disgrace.

XXXII. These were the instructions given to *Don Juan de Fonseca*, who, though he was now bishop of *Badajoz*, yet continued to superintend the affairs of *India*, invested with exclusive jurisdiction and authority to judge and pass sentence in all law-suits and transactions relative to the trade and navigation of the western colonies. This object, notwithstanding the clamour of the malcontents, was looked upon every day with more attention and interest, especially since an account had been received, that a continent had been discovered. For now the government, as well as the subjects, took additional courage to fit out ships, and to make voyages of discovery. Rents, and advantageous prerogatives, were promised to

those who would build ships of six hundred tons burthen and upwards. *Vicente Yanex Pinzon*, and some other private persons, requested permission to set out on discoveries at their own expence, and to trade with the countries already discovered, as well as with those which might be discovered. This permission was granted to them without any limitation, on condition of paying ten per cent. on the profits they might gain by barter. In consequence of this measure, it was hoped, that in a short time all the unknown countries would be found, for the benefit of the government, the good of the subjects, and the extension of religion.

XXXIII. The establishment of *Espanola* was considered as the basis of this grand projected edifice, and accordingly it was deemed necessary to maintain and support it by every means. The colonists were very much displeased with the oppression which they suffered under a rigorous government, compelled to remain against their inclination, and to beg their victuals daily from the public magazine; and what was still more
galling,

galling, to see the gold in the rivers, and in the hands of the *Indians*, without being able to obtain a single grain of it for themselves. All these complaints were now removed. The number of persons, (a thousand,) who received salaries, was now reduced to five hundred, the rest were at liberty to go where they pleased. It was ordered that the provisions which came from *Spain* should be distributed in portions, each sufficient for ten days, and not withheld from any person, except capital criminals. Every one was permitted to exchange commodities for gold with the natives, on condition of paying ten per cent. to the crown, and also to search for this ore in rivers and mines. The latter grant, however, was not very productive: for out of all the gold which the colonists acquired in that way, a third part only was left to them, and if they worked for pay, they received no more than a fifth part, which, considering the great riches of the mines, was reckoned no small reward at that time. After all, the intention was to reserve as much as possible for the advantage of the crown, the only article which seemed

certain and sufficient to defray the expences of the colony, which were very considerable, as the salaries alone amounted to six millions of *Maravedis* *. How great the expectations entertained of the mines were, may appear from the contract which was made with *Pablo Belvis*, an able master miner, who was charged with the care of sinking shafts, and providing all the necessary machinery for that purpose, and to engage such masters and miners as he should think proper. He was promised a salary of a thousand ducats; and the tenth part of the gold, in case it should not annually exceed two thousand, with the privilege to take his tenth part also from those that in future should make use of his machines, together with

* *Maravedis*, at present the smallest *Spanish* coin, was at that time coined of silver, and contained eighteen *Castilian Dineros*; its present value is $\frac{43}{272}$ of a penny. The yearly expences of the *Spanish* crown, in support of *Saint Domingo*, amounted to about 23,437 dollars. But the low state of the revenues of the *Spanish* Monarch at that time, and the scarcity of circulating cash in *Spain*, as well as throughout the whole of *Europe*, previous to the discovery of the *American* silver mines, must be taken into consideration.

T. N.

other

other rights and advantages. The travelling expences of the master miner, his workmen, their board, the quicksilver *, and all the other materials and instruments; in short, all the expences were paid out of the King's treasury. *Fermin Zedo*, and the miners sent out first had not been able to succeed, but the wise Monarch did not spare any expences to bring about an establishment which promised such advantages. In order to encourage and facilitate the emigration of colonists to *India*, and to insure their perpetual residence there, an offer was held out to all those that should

* The quicksilver, which *Paul Belvis* took out with him to the *New World* in 1495, served at that time to separate the particles of the gold from the sand and earth, as well as other heterogeneous matter with which it was mixt. The author has preserved in this account, an important fact, hitherto unknown. For to the present it was the received opinion, that the use of quicksilver for the foregoing purpose, and for the amalgamation of silver-ore, was not known to the *Spaniards*, previous to the middle of the sixteenth century; and all those who have been said to be the inventors of this mode of amalgamation, have only repeated a practise known in the middle age to the *Arabs* and ancient *Spaniards*, as a new invention. T. N.

resolve

resolve to go there, to grant them provisions for twelve months, free passage of persons and goods, exemption from all taxes, and the perpetual property of all the houses they might erect, and of the ground they would cultivate.

XXXIV. An order was issued to procure ecclesiastics in the room of Father *Boil*, and some others who did not chuse to stay in the island, for the spiritual welfare of the discoveries was never neglected. With respect to that object, the idea of instructing and qualifying the *Indians* sent to *Spain* for interpreters, was as much approved and patronised, as the cruelty of selling them as slaves was disapproved. The Admiral ought not to have insisted so warmly on the latter plan, and had it been only for accommodating himself to their Majesties kind and gentle hearts, which were visible in all their letters. Though he described the *Caribs* as more inhuman than savage beasts, and that a considerable gain would arise through their slavery; yet this proposal met with no approbation, but on the contrary, he was advised

vifed to reduce them by gentlenefs. After fuch admonitions, how could he expect that the feverities which he exercifed towards the gentle-tempered *Indians* of *Eſpanola* ſhould be approved? But they were confidered as vaffals of the crown, and confequently their reſiſtance to it was looked on as a crime which would juſtify every act of cruelty inflicted on them. Theſe were the prevalent opinions, and in their application, as well as in their origin and progreſs, paſſion and ſelf-intereſt prevailed over reaſon and humanity. Accordingly they began to ſell ſome hundreds of *Indians* in *Andaluſia*, which *Torres* had brought over; but this infamous traffic was ſtopt almoſt as ſoon as it was begun. Four days after the ſale had been permitted, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, moved by compaſſion, ordered it to be ſuſpended, till they could be informed if they could permit it with a ſafe conſcience. Several divines and lawyers were deſired to deliver their opinion on this queſtion; but I don't find that it was decided. It is certain, however, that the royal perſonages continued to exhibit

hibit their wonted spirit of indulgence and mildness towards the *Indians*.

XXXV. Whilst these measures were adopted, the most speedy preparations were made to send out the royal commissioner as soon as possible, with a sufficient reinforcement of men and supply of provisions; and to freight twelve ships, which were to carry out, by degrees, the necessary articles with more regularity than had heretofore been observed. At last, *Aguado* set sail in the month of August with four ships; *Belvis*, the master of the mines, *D. Diego Columbus*, and some artizans, engaged at salaries, accompanied him. Several animals, intended for breed on the island, a quantity of provisions, medicine, iron tools, and a variety of other articles, were also sent along with him. He landed at *Isabella* in October, at a time when *Don Bartholomew Columbus* administered the government in the absence of the Admiral, who had not returned from his voyage of discovery. After he had delivered his credentials, in which all the colonists were ordered to believe, and submit to what the commissioner would say

to

to them in the name of their Majesties, he began to exercise his authority with all the insolence and airs of importance, and dignity, which are the usual characteristics of men raised to a higher dignity than they deserve. He took on himself the business of government, called the magistrates and officers of finance to account, regardless of the Vice-Governor. Nor did he pay due respect to the Admiral, who, as soon as this intelligence reached him, hastened to the town. On the contrary, he treated him with disrespectful words, and threatened him with the punishment of the court. He heard and encouraged the malcontents, and proposed to remove the oppression of the colonists, and thereby nourished the calumnies and repugnancy to the laws. The Admiral saw himself under the necessity of conniving at faults, and to relax his usual rigour, in order to avoid new complaints. At last he resolved to return with *Aguado* to *Spain*, to remove the slanders and rumours which had been propagated at the expence of his interest, and which also tended to impede
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the progress of his undertaking. The voyage was obliged to be deferred for a considerable time, on account of a hurricane, so dreadful, that neither the *Indians* nor *Spaniards* ever recollected to have experienced the like. The largest and strongest trees were torn up by the root. The sea raged furiously; *Aguado's* four ships, and two others, sunk in the harbour; the *Nina* was very much damaged, but saved.

XXXVI. Whilst measures were taken to repair her again, and to build another out of the wreck of the six, intelligence was brought to the town of rich ores having been discovered in that district which had been ceded by the *Indians* to the garrison of the fort *de la Concepcion*. *D. Bartholomew Columbus* travelled to the place, accompanied by an armed detachment, and some men skilled in mining, to examine it. In *Concepcion* he took guides, went southwards over the chain of mountains, then across the plain and eminences, called *Del Bonao*, till he hit upon the *Hayna*, a large stream which falls into the sea at the southern coast. They discerned
traces

traces of gold every where, but chiefly on the western shore of the *Hayna*, about eight leagues from its mouth, and forty-five from *Ifabella*. After some examination in several places, through an extent of six leagues, many grains of a considerable size were found. The gold grains in *Cibao*, on the contrary, were mostly small. The earth was so richly mixt with this metal, that it was supposed every workman might collect, with moderate industry, three drachms a day. They discovered some traces of cavities, made after the manner of ancient wells. The Admiral conjectured, that these, perhaps, might be the sources from whence the fleets of *Solomon* were laded with gold, which was made use of in the erection of the celebrated temple, and which enriched the treasury of that monarch. This fancy has occasioned several improbable, and very ridiculous opinions, concerning the situation of *Ophir*. The enthusiastic discoverer has a claim to indulgence, partly on account of the novelty of the things, and partly owing to the deficient state of geography in those days, and partly out of a wish to discover
wonderful

wonderful things, to encrease his importance at the court.

XXXVII. Such specious suppositions, however, did not redound so much to his advantage, as the increasing hopes that the establishments in the new world, and the navigations to it, would rise to the speedy succours of the state. The expenditure no longer exceeded the income, as it had done in the first year, which was the principal charge that the enemies of *Columbus* brought against his discoveries. The Admiral saw this, and accordingly collected the gold he had received from *Caonabo Guacanagari*, and the other *Caziques* and tributary *Indians*, which in the whole, perhaps, scarce amounted to two hundred ounces, together with what he had gained in the expedition to the *Hayna*, in which, as *Pedro Martir* states, besides the samples already named, a grain of gold was found of the weight of twenty ounces, and a piece of ore, resembling bell-metal, which weighed upwards of six *Arobes*, and which was found lying in the yard of the house
of

of a certain Cazique, where, according to report, it had lain from the remotest period of his ancestors. In all probability it was a kind of copper or brass. *Martin* declares it to have been pure *Electre*, as the gold is called which is mixed with one-fifth part silver; he adds, that the *Indians* shewed the mine, out of which, according to their supposition, this metal in antient times had been taken, but which was now filled up with earth. It is true, it cost a good deal of pains to acquire such information, as the islanders, oppressed and harassed by the foreigners, were not willing to lead them into any discovery that might be advantageous to them. On the contrary, they wished to drive them from the island, and it is believed, that for that purpose, they intentionally ceased to sow and plant *Maiz*, *Yuca*, and the roots which were the common food of the natives, and which the *Spaniards*, driven by necessity, accustomed themselves to eat. The want of these necessaries began to be felt in the expedition of *Bartholomew Columbus*, and the fear of a dreadful scarcity which seemed to

threaten them, could not fail to encrease the number of the disaffected, and the general wish of returning to *Spain*. These circumstances, and the insolent behaviour of *Aguado*, increased the affliction of the Admiral, who, however, took the necessary measures, with much activity, to leave the colony in a good condition, and to accelerate his departure.

XXXVIII. As soon as the new ship, which was called the *Cruz* was ready, as well as the *Nina*, they were provided with the necessary stores, and sailed on the 10th of March, 1496. The Admiral took two hundred and twenty-five *Spaniards*, and thirty *Indians* along with him; amongst whom was *Caonabo*, (who died on the passage,) his son, brother, and one of his cousins. It was not yet known, that it is necessary to steer northwards to fall in with the westerly winds, which favour the navigation. The direct course towards the east was taken, the consequence of which was, that the ships were steered with excessive

cessive difficulty, as they had to encounter contrary winds continually. On the 6th of April, when the Admiral saw himself as yet in the region of the islands, the crew fatigued, and the provisions nearly consumed, he resolved to land at *Guadaloupe*, which he did on the 10th of April. A number of the natives, armed with bows and arrows, endeavoured to prevent a landing, but the thunder of the guns filled them with such terror, that they fled immediately far from their dwellings. The *Spaniards* went on shore, and their first care was to collect a good store of *Cazabe*. Some went far into the country and seized on ten women, on whom several marks appeared which answered to the description of the pretended *Amazonian* race. The Admiral himself took them to be such, persuaded by their signs and misunderstood expressions, that the island was inhabited solely by women, and that at certain times only they admitted the other sex to visit it. They possessed an uncommon boldness, and masculine bodily strength, were extremely thick and corpulent, and very agile. One of the ten

captives, pursued by a very quick and intrepid *Canarian*, would undoubtedly have escaped by flight, had she not trusted in her strength; for as soon as she saw her pursuer alone, she threw him on the ground, and would have strangled him, if his comrades had not hastened to his relief. She came voluntarily on board, out of love, as it seems, for *Caonabo*, who was said to be of *Carabean* origin; the rest were sent again on shore, and presented with trinkets, that they might spread the report of the kindness of the *Spaniards* over the island, which was considered as a convenient place of repose in that navigation.

XXXIX. After having laid in a good store of *Casabe*, with wood and water, they sailed again on the 20th. The erroneous course was continued principally under the 22d degree, in a continued calm and contrary, or at least not very favourable wind, which lasted above a month before they reached the track of the *Azores*, which the Admiral concluded from the observation of some compasses. The rest of the mariners,
less

less informed and attentive, could not guess where they were. This circumstance, as well as the decrease of victuals, which made it necessary to limit the daily allowance of each person to six ounces of bread, disquieted the crew very much. Their fear, and the dread of starving with hunger, rose to the highest degree, so that on the 7th of June, some desperadoes took the resolution either to eat the *Indians*, or throw them overboard. The Admiral prevented this cruelty, and Providence ordered it; that on the following day they discovered land, which was so anxiously wished for. They were struck with this joyful sight not far from Cape *St. Vincent*, and the next day, which was the 11th, they landed in *Cadiz*.

 BOOK VI.

I. **T**HEY found three ships in the harbour, just ready to set sail for *Espanola*, with reinforcements and fresh stores; they cleared out on the 7th of June, under the command of *Peralonso Ninó*, pilot of the main ship, who, in passing by *Gomera*, added to the provisions an hundred sheep, which he took from this place: a supply which proved the more welcome, as no vessels had arrived at the destined place for ten months; for the four caravels, which had been sent out in January, had unfortunately sunk on the coast of *Spain*. The Admiral availed himself of this opportunity, to write a letter to his brother *Bartholomew*, in which he desired him, for the purpose of reducing the island to perfect tranquillity, to arrest all those *Caziques* and *Indians* who had been found guilty of the murder of the *Spaniards*, and to send them to *Spain*; to establish the mines at the *Hayna*, to look out for a convenient

convenient harbour near that river, and to plant a colony on the southern coast. In *Spain* he endeavoured to remove the bad opinion of himself and his undertakings, though all those that had lately returned from *India* appeared as witnesses against him. Their palid and gloomy countenances resembled gold indeed, with respect to its colour, but not in brightness; striking pictures of disappointed avidity. But minds subject to the tyranny of such a destructive passion are never either satisfied, or cured of that disease. They never give up their vain and fruitless researches, as long as one glimmering spark of hope remains. *Columbus* availed himself of this elastic spring. To dazzle and draw over the common multitude, he prepared to set out on his march to *Burgos*, (where the court was held,) with the same pomp and splendour, that attracted the eyes of the numerous beholders the first time, and exhibited to view all the metals, colours, Brasil wood and spices, which he had brought along with him. The chief *Indians* were adorned with gold plates, masks, and other insignia of the same metal, amongst which,

the pretended crown of the great *Cazique*, shone in preference to the rest. He revived the old ideas of the wealth of *India* in the minds of the intelligent and distinguished, and impressed them with his conviction, that *Cuba* was the beginning of those rich countries. No person was able to withstand his specious and plausible arguments, which were founded on the authority of *Seneca* and *Aristotle*. He confounded every opponent by his determined and positive assertions, the authority he had acquired, the success of his first discovery, and by his promise to elucidate and to remove every doubt of the second discovery. Nay, he even rendered the paradoxical opinion of his having found the *Ophir* of *Solomon* plausible. But what he placed beyond all doubt, were the advantages which he promised from the mines of *Hayna*, of which he shewed gold grains of the size of a nut, and also from the precious *Brasil* wood.

II. His accusers either were not so numerous, or so inveterate against him, as he imagined, or they were not heard. From
a report

a report still existing, it appears, that they concurred with the Admiral in the main subject, but diminished his exaggerations very much. The gold collected from the mines, according to their account, scarce amounted to ten marks, and that there was not as much more in the hands of the *Indians*. Of copper, about one hundred weight had been found; cotton would cost a great deal of money to collect it. Of spice, there was only a small quantity, and that not very fine; and they calculated, that it would require about two hundred foot, from fifteen to twenty horse, and ten stout dogs, to subjugate the island, without any additional expence. This article of useless expenditure was the great hindrance, especially under the circumstances of the day. As the war with France had broke out, immense preparations were made by land and sea in *Naples*, to regain that kingdom, which the French had taken with incredible velocity for the house of *Arragon*, in *Roussillon*, and other quarters, to put them in a proper state of defence. Besides, the intended reciprocal union in marriage

marriage of the Prince and the Infanta *Donna Juana*, with *Margaret* and the Archduke of *Austria*, children of the Emperor *Maximilian*, was to take place. And independent of the great preparations for that purpose, a numerous and strong squadron was ordered to be equipt, to conduct the Princess in safety to *Flanders*, and to return with the *Austrian* Princess to *Spain*.

III. The exalted minds of their Majesties, however, superior to all these cares, devoted all the necessary attention to the affairs of *India*. The glory of bringing a new world, as it were, into existence, and diffusing the light of the gospel in it, the laudible ambition to eclipse the navigation of *Solomon*, *Alexander*, and other celebrated Princes, conspired to vanquish all the difficulties and obstacles, which rose to impede the pursuance of the discoveries, and the maintenance of the establishment; nor did they wish to be excelled in noble constancy and perseverance by the *Portuguese*, who for many years, at a considerable expence of money, and the loss of many men, with
little

little profit, had'endeavoured to pursue their glorious undertakings along the coast of *Africa*. Animated with such ideas which *Columbus* raised in their minds, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, resolved to yield to all his proposals. Delay, however, was unavoidable. The Queen remained at *Laredo* till the departure of her daughter, towards the end of the summer; and the King did not return from the *French* frontiers till the beginning of autumn. Now, when the affairs of *India* were taken into consideration, there were neither ships, men, nor money, as the urgent wants of the moment had engrossed them all. Notwithstanding, says *Casas*, six millions of maravadis had been assigned to *Columbus*, but the draft had been recalled in consequence of the necessity of that sum for re-inforcing the province of *Roussillon*, after the *French* had made themselves masters of *Salsas*. To make good that intended grant, another sum equal, or greater than the former, was ordered to be paid to him out of the treasures which arrived from *Espalona*, under the superintendence of *Peralonso Nipô*, who had just entered

entered the harbour of *Cadiz* with three ships filled with slaves, and who, under the expectation of disposing of them at a high price, rated the cargoes in his written report at the high sum that he thought they would bring; a circumstance which displeased their Majesties very much, and which brought the colony into disrepute, and turned very much to the prejudice of the Admiral. I do not discover the least trace of the draft just mentioned. The arrival of vessels, only fraught with *Indians* who refused to be sold, thereby caused additional expences; and the accounts given by *Ninó*, and his men, relative to the state of the colony, could be nothing less than favourable to the requisitions of the Admiral. However, undoubtedly, the care and attention which the home concerns demanded, were the greatest impediment to the affairs of *India*, which, indeed, were not seriously thought of till the summer following, when the noise of war was lulled, and the splendid nuptial festival of the Prince was over. And, even then it cost a good deal of trouble to raise
men

men and money; a difficulty, which put the patience of the Admiral to a severe trial. What distressed him most of all was, the distressing thought of the sufferings of his brothers, and the other colonists; for, according to the latest accounts, their situation must be extremely bad, and worse evils were still to be apprehended, which really proved to be the case.

IV. After the departure of the Admiral from *Espanola*, the *Adelantado*, (Vice-Governor,) for this was the title which *Bartholomew Columbus* bore from that time, went to the mines and erected a fort there, to which he gave the name of *St. Christoral*, but, which the colonists commonly called *Del Oro*, on account of the gold found there. He staid in this place for three months, and took the necessary steps to forward the progress of the mines; but the want of workmen, and food for his men compelled him to return to *Conception*, leaving behind him ten soldiers to guard the fort. He passed some time in the countries of *Guarionex*, and some other rulers

rulers of the *Vega*, lived at the expence of the *Indians*, and levied the taxes. In the mean time the arrival of the fleet under *Ninó*, the fresh provisions from *Spain*, the reinforcement of some men; the good accounts of the Admiral, and the favour expected from the court through the mediation of such an agent, revived and animated the drooping spirits of our colonists. These ships, according to *Martir* and *Casas*, speedily returned, laden with three hundred *Islanders*. The Vice-Governor now set out for the mines of *St. Christoval*, and from thence to the southern coast, in order to establish a harbour there, in consequence of the Admiral's orders. He found a very convenient place for that purpose, about a day's journey from the mines, at the mouth of the *Ozama*, a considerable river abounding in fish, with pleasant banks, and the soil covered with a luxuriant vegetation, and every kind of plants, and in general, an extraordinary fertility. He immediately laid the foundation of a fort on the eastern shore, and left twenty men to complete and garrison it, after which, he went with
the

the rest of his people to examine the south western provinces, which as yet were only known by rumour.

V. After a march of thirty leagues, he alighted on the river *Neyba*; from thence he continued his way to the west, beyond that river; he found an army of *Indians* encamped under the command of *Bohechio Anacuacoa*, the head *Cazique* of those provinces, who, as *Bartholomew* was informed, took the field to conquer the people who lived on the banks of the river. He received the *Spaniards* in a peaceable manner, and wished to know the cause of their arrival in that quarter. The Vice-governor informed him that all the other *Caziques* of the island had submitted to the sovereignty of their Catholic Majesties, and entered into the obligation of paying them a tribute, and that he would be obliged to follow their example. How is it possible, said the *Cazique*, as my dominions do not yield any gold? This answer proves that the report might be general, that the foreigners only came in pursuit of that ore. The Vice-governor

governor undeceived him, and told him that the tribute could be also paid in cazabe, cotton, and other productions in which the island abounded. This information calmed the mind of *Behechio*, who now liberally offered all that should be desired. He dismissed his troops, and conducted the *Spaniards* to *Jaragua*, the place of his usual residence, about ninety miles from the river *Neyba*. It seemsthat the *Spaniards* did not all take the same way. Two divisions of twenty-five men each drew to the left, took their way to the southern coast, and discovered whole forests of Brasil wood; they cut down a considerable quantity of this precious timber, and laid it up in huts till it could be conveyed away by the *Spanish* ships. The General marched with the greatest part of the men along the shore of the lake *Jaragua*, the name also of the capital and the whole country. These provinces were wealthy, very well inhabited, and ruled by several *Caziques*, under the supreme authority of *Behechio*. These rulers, after the example of their sovereign, paid homage to their
Catholic

Catholic Majesties, and freely consented to the tribute which was demanded from them.

VI. The journey was relieved by successive festivities and rejoicings, but all these divertissements were far exceeded by those that were prepared at the court of the *Cazique*. All the people came to meet their sovereign and his guests, and received them with a thousand demonstrations of joy. Near the habitation of the prince, thirty of his women appeared, with palm branches in their hands, and danced and sung after their manner, and at last presented those branches to the General on bended knees. An enchanting spectacle to our colonists, on whom the nakedness and gesticulations of these females made such an impression, that they fancied they saw the fabulous nymphs of old. Such they appeared, especially the young unmarried girls, quite naked, their hair flowing down their shoulders, and brows shaded with a bandeau of cotton. The married women, and those that were advanced in years, wore short aprons round their loins. When night approached, a luxuriant supper was given,

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after which the people retired to rest. On the next day, greater banquetings and entertainments were prepared. Several dances were exhibited in a house peculiarly appropriated for that purpose. A sham battle was also displayed betwixt two hostile armies, in a large field, and that with so true and lively a representation, that having first discharged their arrows, they then closed hand to hand; in a short time four men were killed, and a great number wounded. The loss would have been still greater, had not an end been put to this martial sport at the earnest entreaty of the *Spaniards*. These demonstrations of joy and friendship, as well as the submission and obedience of the *Cazique*, and his willingness to pay the tribute required, arose, it seems, from the influence of his sister *Anacaona*, an admirably prudent and intelligent woman, such as could not be expected to be found among such people. She had been married to the fierce *Caonabo*, and warned by the unfortunate fate of her husband, she gave her brother this salutary advice, to preserve his freedom and power. This is to be deduced from what afterwards

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happened, though *Martir*, the writer of this narration, does not mention any thing of *Anacaona* in relating this incident.

VII. Be that as it may, as soon as the Governor had obtained his object, he set out immediately for *Isabella*, without meeting, as far as is known, any obstacle or disagreeable accident in a march of eighty leagues, which he had to travel. He found the inhabitants of the town in the most wretched state, almost all sick, not a few dead, and destitute of any medicine or nutriment; nay, without the common necessities of life. The victuals brought some months before from *Spain* by the *Nina*, arrived in a putrid state, and what was edible had been consumed. A scarcity of provisions pervaded the whole island, partly because a great number of the islanders had fled from the persecution of the *Spaniards* to the mountains, in consequence of which many plantations were left uncultivated, partly because the grounds that were tilled were not sufficient to repay their cultivators and the colonists, especially after the dreadful

hurricane that had raged the preceding year. As many islanders had already died in consequence of these disastrous circumstances, others had withdrawn from the vicinity of the town, where the distress must naturally be felt in a greater degree than elsewhere; besides, a number of them had been carried over as slaves to *Spain*; the result was the greatest want and distress in the town and its environs. In addition to this calamity, the ships that were so eagerly expected with fresh provisions delayed coming, nor was there a single vessel, which could have been sent, to carry home an account of their unspeakable distress, which became every moment more and more alarming. The prudent Vice-governor, however, took every measure that could possibly be taken. He ordered two ships to be built, left only the most necessary persons in the town, distributed the rest in the most wealthy districts, and erected five villages along the road from *Concepcion* to the harbour of *Ozama*. Each of these villages was guarded with a little fort. *Esperanza* lay nine leagues from *Ozama*, *Santa Catarina* fifteen, *Santiago* nineteen
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and a half, and *Concepcion* twenty-four, which last was fortified with particular care, because it lay at the foot of the great chain of mountains, half a league from the dwelling place of *Guarionex*, in a very populous and fertile plain. Here, as it seems, the Vice-governor remained for some time, to the year 1497, when he inflicted an exemplary punishment on account of religion,

VIII. The instruction and conversion of the *Indians*, peculiarly engaged the care and attention of *Fray Roman Pane*, of the order of *S. Hieronymus*, and *Fray Juan Borgonon*, a *Franciscan*. They were indefatigable in their mission. *Pane*, in particular, animated with a holy enthusiasm, learned the language of *Macoriz*, (a provincial dialect of the general language of the inhabitants) in less than a year, and instructed a family, consisting of sixteen persons, in the principal truths of christianity. When the first *Alcayde Juande Ayala* was obliged to go to *Guatiguana*, in consequence of the sedition which broke out there, he accompanied him to *Concepcion*, and took *Guaycavanu*, one of his best dis-

ciples, along with him, who was well acquainted with the language generally spoken in the dominions of *Guarionex*. As soon as our pastor had learned it himself, he zealously began to instruct the *Cazique* and his family in the principles of Christianity; at the same time he did not neglect *Guaycavanu* and his family, who lived in company with him, and who deserved by every means to be admitted into the church. This *Guaycavanu* was the first who received baptism, on the 21st of September, 1496. On that sacred occasion he got the name of *Juan Mateo*. His pious endeavours were not crowned with the same success in the house of *Guarionex*. He, as well as *Bor-gonon*, laboured about two years to win this prince over to the new religion, and to lead him and several persons of his household so far as to learn the creed, pater-noster, and other articles of the catechism, and to recite them twice a day. But our catechumen at length changed his mind and conduct, at the instance of other *Caziques*, who reproached him for his inclination to the religion of the *Christians*, a malignant rapacious nation

nation, who had seized on his country, with the addition that they ought not to be gratified in any one thing, and that all the princes of the country ought to unite their strength to extirpate them. When our missionaries observed this alteration, they resolved to depart, and resort to the province of another *Cazique*, of the name of *Maviatue*, where they hoped to reap better fruit, because this chief had expressed a wish to embrace Christianity. They took *Juan Mateo* with them, and left the care and superintendence of a little chapel, which they had prepared in a certain house, to his brother and relations. Two days after their departure six *Indians*, by the order of *Guarionex*, stole the holy images of the chapel, broke them in pieces, trampled on them with their feet, and buried them in an *Agave* field. The Vice-governor was informed of this outrage, he caused the perpetrators to be tried, and condemned them to be burnt, which sentence was put into public execution.

IX. After, by the severity of this sentence, he had thrown the country into fear, he forti-

The first punishment & only life

fied the fort, and distributed some of the sick who began to recover into cottages, and continued his march to the south. He erected a fort about ten leagues from *Concepcion*, and *S. Christoval*, which was more important than the rest, because it was planted between mountains, and on the frontiers of *Bonao*, a powerful *Cazique*, whose name the fortress bore, as well as the whole place and province; at length he reached the port of *Ozama* on the southern coast, where he wished to establish such another town as that of *Isabella*. As he ranged the neighbouring countries in search of food, and for the purpose at the same time, of rendering the *Caziques* tributary, he received an account from *Concepcion*, that the *Indians* of these districts, inflamed with resentment against the *Spaniards*, had evinced symptoms of a dangerous rebellion. In fact the most powerful *Caziques* of that quarter had united for that purpose. *Guarionex* at first refused to accede to the plot through timidity, but by unremitting persuasion they at last prevailed on him to join them. They collected troops privately, and resolved on a fixed day to attack the

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Spaniards, and to kill them all together. Their designs were guessed at. The Governor hastened with his men by forced marches, and found means to get into the fortress unperceived. He resolved to arrest all the leaders in one night, before they could put their plan into execution, and appointed Captains for that purpose, with an armed force under the command of each, to secure the prisoners. He took upon himself to seize on *Guarionex*; the project succeeded without failure in any part. Fourteen *Caziques* were brought prisoners to *Concepcion* in the night fixed on. Two of them who were convicted of being the very leaders of the conspiracy, were beheaded. The rest were pardoned after a strong admonition and severe reprehension, and restored with clemency to their subjects, who, to the number of about five thousand, without any other arms but tears and lamentations, assembled, and supplicated, like so many inconsolable orphans, the lives and liberties of their fathers. This rigour, tempered with mercy, produced the desired effect. The princes and their vassals took it for a warning,

warning, acknowledged their faults with submission, without leaving their country or possessions, a circumstance which it was justly dreaded would have been the result of a greater severity, and which, if it had happened, would have turned out to the greatest distress of our Colonists, whose subsistence depended on the cultivated fields of the *Indians*.

X. Thus tranquillity was restored for the present among the *Indians*, but this was not the case with the minds of the *Spaniards*; they were much dissatisfied to find themselves in a remote country, under the command of a foreigner, who kept them under a perpetual strict discipline, fatigued by unremitting labour, painful marches, in want even of the bread made of *Yuca* and maize, their cloaths quite ragged, subjected to a thousand other inconveniencies and calamities, all of which they attributed to the fault of the Admiral, who had not performed his promise of sending them any relief since his departure, which was now fourteen months. The Vice-governor consoled them with hopes, on which
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they placed no reliance, except those which depended on the ships, which were building with great activity. In the mean time some *Indians* arrived with a message from *Bohechio*, in *Jaragua*, stating that the tribute was collected. The Governor availed himself of this welcome opportunity to divide the turbulent, and to employ a great part of them in a manner agreeable to their wishes. He marched thither, and was received with much courtesy and respect at the court of *Bohechio*, where also the distinguished princess *Anacaona*, and thirty-two petty *Caziques* expected him. They had brought with them several sorts of delicacies independent of the stipulated quantity of cotton and food, in order to gain the good will of the *Spaniards*. In a short time, a whole cottage was filled with raw and spun cotton. An immense quantity of maize and cazabe was likewise furnished, because the *Caziques* did not confine themselves merely to the discharge of their obligation, but offered of both kinds of corn as much as the *Spaniards* would chuse. The Vice-governor received the offer with gratitude, and sent orders to
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the town to prepare one of the caravels, and to send her immediately to the harbour of *Jaragua*, that she might be freighted with victuals, and then to sail back to *Isabella* with the utmost speed. Whilst bread was the chief article of consideration in the neighbouring provinces, here the *Spaniards* feasted, and rioted in luxury at court, where they were entertained, and pampered quite up to their wishes. They were furnished with abundance of delicacies, several sorts of fish, *Utias*, and the savoury *Iguanas*, a dish reserved for persons of high rank only. At first the *Spaniards* refused to eat of this *Indian* luxury, as they looked upon it to be loathsome, and repugnant to their appetite. At last the Vice-governor, persuaded by *Anacaona*, tasted a bit of them, the *Spaniards* followed his example, and in a short time they relished them so well, as to prefer these animals to pheasants and turkies.

XI. The feasts and banquets were crowned with the arrival of the caravel, an object of astonishment to the *Indians*. *Anacaona* and
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Bohechio went to view the vessel, accompanied by the Governor. The ship saluted them with the discharge of her guns. The *Indians* were so stunned, that they supposed the whole universe was falling into ruins; when they recovered a little from their fright, they went on board, and viewed all the parts of the vessel with admiration. They could not conceive how it was possible that such a bulky body could be turned and managed with so much ease, by the wind alone, without oars. They were entertained besides with a dance and military music. All that they saw, contributed to heighten the idea which they entertained, of the greatness and unparalleled superiority of the *Spaniards*, and their desire to please them and gain their good will. *Anacaona* distinguished herself as much by her presents and complaisance, as by her talents and politeness. The night before they visited the harbour, she feasted all the *Spaniards* in a place belonging to herself, where she possessed a *Caney*, or large house, adorned with splendid furniture and other articles, with chairs, or *Duhos*, as they called

called them, plates, bowls, and other vessels. These were made of a black shining wood; which was thought to be ebony of the finest quality. They were hollowed, rendered smooth, and polished by the means of fire. The instruments employed on this occasion were flints and pebble stones, extremely hard. They, without any other aid, but natural emulation and patience, formed excellent and admirable pieces of artificial work, with figures of men, animals, and several things in grotesque shapes, on half relief. The Governor took fourteen *Duhos*, or chairs, and about sixty articles of other furniture with him, besides presents which are not particularly mentioned. The munificence of this celebrated heroine, raised an emulation in her brother, and the subaltern *Caziques*. The ship fraught with so many gifts set sail for *Isabella*; and the Governor, filled with satisfaction and pleasure, set out for the same town, where he found, by sad experience, that human joys and pleasures frequently end in sorrow and calamity.

XII. The sparks of mutiny, which had not been quite extinguished when he set out for *Jaragua*, had burst out after his departure into an open flame; the usual result of malcontentness, hunger, and an ill-administered justice. *Don Diego Columbus* was an honest, well-principled man, but devoid of courage and firmness. The second in command to him, instead of calling his additional authority in to his aid, placed himself at the head of the malcontents. His name was *Francisco Roldan*, a native of *Torre de D. Gimeno*, near *Jaen*. He had been raised, by the Admiral, from the low situation of a footman, by degrees, to the rank of chief justice of the colony. A great fault, indeed, to raise a man of a few good qualities, and destitute of merit, without reflecting, at the same time, that gratitude to their benefactor is the first duty which such reptiles neglect. *Roldan* soon evinced that he belonged to this class of wretches, by spreading a report, that the Admiral either never would return, in consequence of the unfavourable report of *Aguado*, or that he would forget the concerns of the island

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in the giddy intoxicating pleasures of the court. The only means then left to avoid starvation, was, that as many of them should embark as the caravel, then just got ready, would contain, and to press the support of the rest. A great number of the colonists were ready to fall in with this proposal; and after many abusive speeches, they assembled before *D. Diego Columbus*, and urged him to launch the ship which lay as yet in dock on the stocks. *Don Diego* refused to comply with these demands, especially as the rigging and tackling requisite in so long a voyage were not finished. Notwithstanding, they persisted with obstinacy and violence in their demands. *Roldan*, the ring-leader of the party, declared that he would put their design into execution, in spite of the Vice Governor. He inveighed against him and his brothers in the most rancorous and reproachful terms; said they were foreigners, greedy of ambition and avaricious tyrants, and enemies to the *Spaniards*, by which he succeeded in drawing over a great number of the vulgar to his side. The urgent
necessity,

necessity, however, of providing for the general good and safety, stopped the progress of the rebellion. The *Indians* about *Concepcion* seemed to be in motion, and to conspire to the destruction of that fortress and the garrison. In order to prevent it, *Don Diego* sent a company of forty soldiers, under the command of *Roldan* for that place, by which he removed all at once two menacing dangers; though the said evils were not yet radically cured, as the *Indians* were unwilling to bear the oppressions of the colonists, and the latter to endure the inconveniencies of their distressful situation.

XIII. When the Governor and *Roldan* returned from their expedition, the flames of discord broke out afresh. The sailing of the caravel was insisted on with increased violence, in proportion to the opposition of the Governor. His authority as well as his nautical experience were set at nought. He expostulated in vain with them on the dangers they would expose themselves to, by attempting so long a voyage in a vessel

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that was not properly equipped for the purpose. He was charged with an intention of tyrannizing over the colony. He was upbraided with being a foreigner, disaffected and unkind to the *Spaniards*, capricious and cruel; in consequence of which, they declared it necessary either to refuse obedience to him, or to kill him, in order to prevent their own entire destruction. In the midst of all these tempestuous motions, the Vice-Governor remained firm and resolute; he took care to administer justice, and resolved to set an example of it in the punishment of a certain man called *Barahona*, an accomplice of the mutineers. *Roldan* conceived that the day appointed for the execution of this criminal would be very opportune to murder the Vice-Governor; but, luckily, the latter pardoned the convict, and the plot was disclosed. When the ringleader saw himself betrayed, he marched with his partisans to *Vega*. His design was to make himself master of *Concepcion*, to return thence with augmented force, and to conquer the town and
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the whole country. In his marches, he strove to seduce the *Spaniards* scattered in these quarters, and the natives. To the latter, he promised exemption from taxes; to the former, a free and unrestrained life, exempt from the restraints imposed by the inexorable *Columbus* and his brother, who would not permit them to make use of the *Indians* as slaves and labourers, to seize the women, and to traffic and acquire gold for themselves; and who under the pretext of the royal salary, which never was paid, fatigued them incessantly with working in plantations, and assisting in raising buildings, till they were almost starved with hunger, and moreover punished them with severity for every petty offence. The rebel assembled all his men in the chief place of a *Cazique*, called *Marque*, two leagues from *Concepcion*, where he disclosed his design to make himself master of the fortress. He then went to the residence of *Guarionex*, where Captain *Garcia Barrantes* was stationed with thirty men; but he was disappointed in the seduction of them through the watchfulness of the commander, who, apprized of the de-

sign of the insurgents, kept back his men from any communication with them, and shut himself up with them in a house, where he remained faithful to his trust, in defiance of every menace. *Roldan* carried off all the provisions, and marched to the fort of *Concepcion*. *Miguel Ballister*, the commander of it, an honest *Catalonian*, would not permit him to enter it, in consequence of the notice which he had received of the base intention of the traitor, by some persons who had come from the aforesaid place. Notwithstanding the ill success of his first attempt, he still endeavoured to seduce the men, and really brought such a number of partizans together, as to render his superiority dreadful.

XIV. *Ballister* informed the Vice-Governor by letter of the alarming state of affairs, who immediately collected as many soldiers as he could, and marched without delay to join that commander. As he wished, however, to settle the difference amicably, hearing that *Roldan* had advanced half a league into the dominions of *Guarionex*, he sent a person to him to represent, though in a friendly

friendly and gentle way, the impropriety and imprudence of his conduct, and hoped by this means to bring him back to a sense of duty. The only effect of this measure was, that he consented to negotiate with the Governor under a safe-guard. In this negociation he insisted afresh on the fitting out of the caravel. After many insolent and contumelious expressions, he concluded with declaring, that he would remain in arms, united with his party, because he knew that the Governor bore him a deadly hatred; and that, notwithstanding he now affected to be kind and clement towards him, he would seize the first opportunity of glutting his revenge. When he was cited before a tribunal, and commanded to deliver the staff and surrender up the name of chief justice, he answered, that he was ready to do both in the presence of an impartial judge, and by the order of the King, who had invested him with that dignity. In the mean time, however, he was willing to take his abode wherever he should be directed; but when the province of a Cazique, called *Diego Columbus*, was ap-

pointed for that purpose, he objected to it, as he said there were not victuals in it sufficient for himself and his men, and that he could not help seeking a more convenient district.

XV. He marched to the town, and tried in vain to get the caravel launched; he plundered the public magazine of provisions, arms and colours, without any regard to the authority of the Governor, who was obliged to shut himself up in the fortress. Having committed all these depredations, he left *Isabella*, resolved to march with his men to the states of *Bohechio*, because he had heard certain persons speak with transport of the wealth, cultivation, and fertility of those provinces, particularly of the beauty and charms of the women. He provided himself with cattle and beasts of burden out of the King's herd; but before he set out for this expedition, he took it into his head to try his strength with the Governor, to surprize him in the fort of *Vega*, and to strip him of his dignity. What induced him to adopt this resolution, was a persuasion, that
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a great many of the *Spaniards*, who had remained faithful to the Government, might be allured by flattering promises to join him. But he was mistaken; the Vice-Governor, who was acquainted with his design, put himself in a state of defence; he assured himself of the fidelity of his men, by promising them more certain rewards than the traitor was able to hold out, and among others, two *Indian* slaves to each for their service. Thus armed with authority and courage, he went in search of the enemy, determined to decide by force of arms, what he could not accomplish by the force of reason and friendly remonstrances. *Roldan*, discouraged by this bold resolution, especially when he saw himself disappointed in the soldiers, not one of whom deserted over to him, thought proper to retreat to *Jaragua*; yet he loitred for some time in the environs, and endeavoured to stir up the *Indians* against the Governor. He gave out, that he had withdrawn himself from him, because he was a cruel, revengeful man. He imputed to him and his brothers an insatiable avarice and ambition, which was the cause of the

intolerable burthens which they had laid upon the natives, contrary to the will of the King and Queen, who, satisfied with the obedience and pacific dispositions of their vassals, intended to have them protected in their rights and liberties. He pretended to be the defender and protector of the oppressed *Indians*, and drew them into a resolution to refuse the tribute laid on them, and to rise up in arms. Thus he obtained his malignant design, to gain the inclination and gifts of the natives; to render the Governor, and his faithful followers odious; and to throw the colony and the whole country into a state of confusion and disturbance.

XVI. The aspect of affairs in reality grew worse and worse, the ulcer spread further and further. The taxes imposed on the districts remote from *Concepcion* did not come in, and those of the neighbouring ones were not pressed either, lest any occasion might be given to exasperate the *Indians*, who, however, on seeing the weak side, instead of remaining quiet, grew more daring, and fomented insurrections, in hopes
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of throwing off the foreign yoke entirely. The *Spaniards*, who remained faithful, and dreaded lest the mutineers should unite themselves with the rebellious islanders, were almost all confined to two places, the town of *Isabella*, and the new establishment of *Concepcion de la Vega*. Deprived of the contributions, without courage to enforce the payment of them, the consequence could not be otherwise, than at last, that they must break out into loud complaints and an inclination to desert. To prevent desertions and other greater outrages, it was necessary to use indulgence, and to connive at several things. From this relaxation of discipline a disorder arose, which the strength of the Governor was no longer sufficient to remove. The evil increased to such a degree, that, very probably, in the beginning of the year 1493, the colony might have sunk into a miserable end, if, happily, two ships had not arrived with provisions and reinforcements of men.

XVII. What evils do not arise from the negligence and indifference with which
ministers

ministers look on the urgent distresses and wants of distant possessions! However ardently *Columbus* urged his speedy dispatch, yet he could scarcely obtain it after twelve months. It seems, however, that his own demands and pretensions, by which he endeavoured to ascertain his personal honour, and the interest of his family, contributed a good deal to this delay. These negotiations gave him much trouble and sorrow, and imbibited his life, which appears from a letter which he wrote to his brother *Bartholomew*, though in consequence of the happy success of his business, he might add with justice, that no important matter can be brought about without trouble, and that a person enjoys with greater delight that which he has obtained with much difficulty. In fact, his wishes were at last completely gratified. He obtained a new confirmation of his privileges; an accurate explanation of the rights and liberties of the *Indian* admiralty-ship, with the title of Admiral of *Castile*; the remission of the sums, which, according to agreement, he would have been obliged to

to pay, as his share, towards the charges of the whole undertaking; and the grant of all that he had received, or spent for his own use. Besides this, it was settled, that he should have for the three successive years, the eighth part of the whole profit, without contributing any thing to the expence, with the concession, that his share should be taken from the gross amount, previous to the deduction of the expences; moreover, he was authorized to establish the law of promogeniture. He might also have obtained the perpetuity of seventy-five leagues of land in the island of *Esplanola*, which their Majesties were willing to grant him, with the title of Count or Duke; but he declined this offer, because he thought so great a favour might increase calumny, or furnish fresh matter for the intrigues which he had already to encounter. On the other hand, he did not scruple to forward and support the unjust and odious proposition of repealing the general grant, made two years before, to seek out and barter gold, which the court consented to, because this grant would trench on his privileges. There was another flatter-

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tering favour added to these, that he was to be consulted in all orders and regulations relative to *India* affairs, so that nothing could be done in that department, without his own knowledge, or that of such persons as he should think proper to depute. Finally, their Majesties also conferred new marks of royal estimation on his family. His brother *Bartholomew* was invested with the title of Governor of the islands and the continent. His sons, after the death of the Prince their master, were taken by the Queen into her house and service.

XVIII. So many favours were heaped upon the Admiral, partly out of consideration for the important services which he had already rendered to the crown; and partly, in the expectation founded on his skill, zeal, and intrepidity, that he would certainly accomplish his promise to secure the dominion of *Espanola*, and discover the continent of *India*. Eight ships were granted to him for the attainment of these two objects, with men, ammunition, provisions, and other articles, which

which he required. Three hundred and thirty persons were engaged and taken into pay, for the purpose of going out to the *Indies*, and to remain there, namely, forty horsemen, one hundred foot soldiers, sixty seamen and cabin boys, twenty miners, fifty plough-men, ten gardeners, twenty mechanics in several lines of handicraft, and thirty women; besides, a physician, an apothecary, a botanist, a musician for the amusement of the people, and some clergymen. Five hundred volunteers, who offered to go without pay, received, over and above the advantages already granted to the planters, supply of corn and cattle to facilitate their culture. An order was given to establish a plantation on the southern coast, where it might seem most convenient, to build mills, to promote agriculture, to erect a mint for issuing *Excellentes**; and to take along with

* A gold coin, which was current in the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, and earlier. *Alfonso* had previously coined 1254 *Excellentes*, which were executed in imitation of the ducats current at that time. Sixty-five and one-third were equal to a *Castilian* mark of 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ fine Karat.

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them all the animals, utensils, and other requisites for all these purposes. Immense stores of provisions were furnished; and to prevent, in future, the want of food, as well as of wearing apparel and other necessary commodities, wealthy persons were engaged to furnish them on their own account, and to sell them according to the prescribed regulation at reasonable prices; for which, money was to be advanced to them by the King. All that was exported and imported to and from the colony, was exempted from public duties. Every possible care and impartial justice were recommended to the tribunals, with respect to the property of persons deceased, and the execution of wills. It was particularly enjoined to treat the *Indians* with kindness, and to lead them into christianity and peaceful submission to the *Spanish* crown, without omitting the levy of the taxes, although with advice, at the same time, to inflict but a light punishment on those who should not be punctual in the discharge of their tribute.

XIX. When

XIX. When the Admiral had concluded his negotiations, and the Bishop of *Badajoz* had received orders to fit out the fleet, a disagreeable circumstance arose, which was, that the *Spaniards* discovered very little inclination to offer themselves for the service and establishment of *Espanola*. The opinion of *India* was sunk so low, that in order to collect a sufficient number of hired planters, it was necessary to resort to extraordinary expedients. An order was, therefore, directed to all the courts of justice, to commute the punishment of any convict of either sex, sentenced to be transported to any island, or out of the kingdom, or to work in the mines, and to mitigate the sentence of those that were condemned to punishment for life to ten years in the new colony, and those that were condemned for a certain number of years to half the time, if they would embark for *Espanola*. Besides, a general pardon was publicly offered to criminals of all description, provided they appeared within a certain time before the Admiral, and consented to serve in *India*. Those that were capitally convicted,

convicted for two years; and those that were subject to less punishment, half that time. Such, however, were excepted, who had been guilty of high treason, heresy, treachery, perfidy, assassination by means of fire or arrows, false coinage, sodomy, exportation of coin, gold, silver, and other prohibited articles out of the kingdom. The *Portuguese* availed themselves of such exiles for dangerous undertakings, and *Vasco de Gama* took a number of them along with him in the successful navigation, which was then preparing to sail round the Cape of *Good Hope*, for the purpose of discovering *India*. The discoverer of the new world went in this, as in all other things, a step farther; and thus the King and Queen, who favoured his measures, and yielded to his request and the imperious calls of necessity, in the beginning, where virtue ought to have been looked upon as the foundation-stone of the establishment, sowed the seeds of the corruption of the colony, and set a bad example, which has been since imitated by the most enlightened nation, in similar circumstances, and, perhaps, under less excusable

cusable circumstances. In the present instance, the difficulties which occasioned this measure were so great, that notwithstanding this new expedient, almost twelve months had passed away, before the eight ships were ready to put to sea.

XX. The money which had been assigned to him in the month of April, in all probability, was not sufficient to cover the expences. Nor did the Admiral receive the half of the money voted for the equipment, till the month of October, and even these three millions of Maravedis, he would not have received at the time, but through the particular favour of the Queen, who, notwithstanding the sumptuous nuptials of the Infanta *Donna Isabella* with the King of *Portugal*, helped him to them. For all that, about four months elapsed before *Pedro Fernandez*, the commander of *Isabella* could be dispatched with the two caravels, which saved the colony, and three other full months before *Columbus* himself could set out with the remaining six ships. Sixty pensioned persons embarked in the former, five

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volunteers and ten criminals destined to remain in *Espanola*. In the latter squadron, one hundred *Spaniards* in pay were taken aboard: of the other classes, the number is not known; in proportion, it might amount to forty-five persons. More than half, however, were still wanting to complete the number at first determined. This tiresome delay, as well as the low credit of *Indian* affairs and the unwillingness of the men, chiefly arose from the bad understanding betwixt *Columbus* and the Bishop of *Badajoz*, who did not agree about the preparation of the fleet. The animosity of the prelate was more and more excited, through the repeated orders which he received, with respect to the gold withheld from *Diego Columbus*. He, therefore, seized the present opportunity of shewing his deadly hatred to the full extent of his power, and he, as well as his accountant, *Gimeno de Briviesca*, tormented the Admiral with perpetual contradictions.

XXI. When so many obstacles and difficulties were surmounted, *Columbus* set out
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from *S. Lucar* on the 30th of May, 1498. In order to avoid *French* cruizers, he steered a new course to the *Canary* islands, and sailed by the way of *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*. He stopped at the latter island for six days, and laid in several articles of provisions, which he found there in abundance, and very cheap; the effect of the zeal of the *Portuguese* in promoting agriculture, especially the cultivation of sugar, the abundance of which may be conceived from this, that a pipe of sugar juice sold for two ducats, an excellent aliment, and according to the Admiral, a very wholesome beverage. On the 21st of June, after resting two days in *Gomera*, he set out on his voyage to the *New World*. On the height, and in sight of the isle of *Ferro*, he dispatched three ships, under the command of *Pedro de Arana*, *Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal*, and his kinsman, *Juan Antonio Colombo*, to hasten to the relief of the colony. He ordered them to keep the same course, which the fleet took in 1493, till they came within view of the eastern coast of *Espanola*, then to steer along the south side, and land at the new

town; the foundation of which, according to the King's command, was supposed to have been laid.

XXII. He steered himself with a large ship, and two caravels to the isles of *Cape de Verde*, barren and steril islands, to which the name of *green*, perhaps, was given on the contrary account. The other island had as little claim to the name *Buena Vista*, which it carries. He rode at anchor at this last, from the 27th to the last day of June, amongst a miserable people, mostly covered with the leprosy, who endeavoured to cure themselves by eating tortoises and drinking their blood. He wished to catch some wild goats, of which there were a vast number on the island; but as this would require too much time, he sailed to *Santiago*, the residence of the *Portuguese* Governor, to purchase great cattle for *Esspanola*. He could not succeed in this as speedily as he wished, and, therefore, he hastened away from this wretched region, where he dreaded that his men might fall sick. For as long as he remained in this tract of the ocean, he
neither

neither saw sun nor stars. The sky was enveloped in a thick sultry fog, and the inhabitants looked sickly and miserable. His course to the south was, however, greatly impeded by the violent currents which ran to the north and north-east; so that, notwithstanding, he left *Santiago* on the 5th of July, he had not lost sight of the *Volcano* of the isle of *del Fuego* on the 7th of the same month. When he got clear of those impediments, he resolved to steer south-westward to the line, and then to make due westward to seek the continent of *India*. After he had sailed four hundred and eighty leagues, and had got under the fifth degree of latitude, according to his observation, the breeze sunk into a calm, accompanied with such excessive heat, that it was feared the ships would be burnt. The barrels split, the hoops started from the casks, and the water, with the liquors, leaked out. The calm lasted eight days, the first was clear, and the heat of the sun intolerable. The following days were varied with rain and clouds, and the heat abated a little. In this situation, our sailors consoled themselves with the hopes, that as soon as the wind

would gather strength, they would soon enjoy an agreeable and temperate air, even if they continued in that high latitude. In consequence of what the Admiral observed in his preceding voyages, he judged that in the navigation of *India*, about one hundred leagues from the *Azores*, a striking alteration of the skies, the stars, the air, and the waters, would take place. "There, he said, the needle declines about a whole quarter to the north-west; there the mariners come into a calm sea, which never swells into billows by the most violent wind; there floating meadows begin, of which before not a single herb was to be seen; thence an admirable mildness prevails, with an agreeable air." At last, the wished-for wind began to blow, preceded by a more temperate air. Every hour the breeze became more refreshing, and on the third day, the mildness which the Admiral had predicted in the western region was sensibly felt. Thus, the navigation went agreeably on to the 30th of July, though in the end of the month the crews became very uneasy and concerned, in consequence of the wretched condition
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of the ships, and the want of food and water, as they could not see land, notwithstanding their hopes founded on several presages.

XXIII. These circumstances, and the apprehensions that some disorders might have invaded the colony, induced the Admiral to stretch his course northwards on the morning of the 31st; where he supposed the *Caribbee* islands, in hopes to supply his urgent necessities in that quarter, and then to sail for *Espanola* with all possible haste. *Alonso Perez*, a sailor from *Huelva*, descried, about noon, from the round top, three tongues of land about fifteen leagues to the west. The sweet sound: *land!* filled the hearts of the seamen with ineffable joy, but that of the Admiral beyond the rest, who was very unwilling to relinquish the pursuit of an undertaking, which in his opinion was not less important and glorious than the very first discovery. He ascribed the present appearance of land to the peculiar favour of Providence, and considered

the time, the form, and sight of these three points of land as wonderful; a phenomenon which singularly answered his intention, to dedicate the first land he should discover to the Holy Trinity. He performed his vow by giving the island the name of *Trinidad*, which it retains at this day. The name *Galera* in the same manner stands unchanged, which he gave to a cape south-eastwards, on account of a little island lying near it, which at a distance resembles a ship under sail. When he reached this point, and could find no good anchorage, he steered farther westwards along the southern coast, and cast anchor there. On the first of August he sailed farther in the same direction, in search of fresh water, which he found near a cape which he called *Playa*: here the crew went ashore, and filled some casks, probably from the river *Moruga*; but as there was no other convenience to be found, nor any inhabitants to furnish informations relative to the country, he sailed to the south-west point, which he called *Arenal*. He anchored between this point and a little isle opposite to it, which he named *Gallo*; he sent some
boats

boats on shore, and laid in a full supply of water from cisterns made by the inhabitants.

XXIV. The country on this side was low and uninhabited, which was not the case with the anterior, where several cultivated fields and traces of inhabitants were perceptible, the soil high, full of palm trees, and thick green bushes full of leaves, to the margin of the sea; so that it excelled, in picturesque beauty, the prospects of *Valencia* in the month of May. A canoe made its appearance with twenty-five *Indians*, who stopped within the flight of an arrow, and hollowed out, but could not be allured to approach, notwithstanding the pretty toys which the *Spaniards* held out to their view. To please and entice them, a dance was prepared on the quarter-deck to the sound of a little drum, but just as if they had heard the signal of battle, they immediately laid hold of their little round shields, seized their bows, and discharged a whole shower of arrows, on which they approached nearer to one of the caravels; and

and as this furnished an opportunity of observing them for a short time, it appeared, that they were fine looking well-shaped youths, of a brown colour, like almost all the *Indians*, though somewhat lighter than the rest of the new discovered islanders; their hair was long, smooth, and tied up with strings or bands; their nudities were covered with cotton cloth, artificially woven of different colours, the rest of the body quite naked. Some feathers were observed on their bows and arrows, to which sharp bones were fastened. Their shields were the only novelty to the Admiral; for the *New World* had not exhibited any defensive arms before.

XXV. The colour of their skin, however, and the smoothness of their hair, raised particular reflections in the mind of the Admiral. He was in the tenth degree of latitude, or thereabouts, but imagined himself to be under the sixth, an error which he did not perceive in the whole navigation from the time that he began to steer to the west. He reasoned with himself, thus: the *Africans*
who

who live in that high latitude are black, their hair short and crisped: whence does such a surprizing difference arise betwixt the inhabitants of the same latitude? To solve this question, our navigator adopted the opinion, that our globe was divided into two parts, by a meridional line, which ran towards the east over the countries of the *Seres*, at the limits of *China*, and west over Cape *S. Vincent* in *Portugal*. He did not doubt, that the hemisphere known to the antients were spherical, and that the heat of it must be felt according to the degrees of latitude in the remote sea, though with some difference from that on the land arising out of local circumstances. But in the new discovered hemisphere, just the contrary was perceived; for, in proportion as he approached to the centre of it, just under the equator, the mildness and amenity of the air increased. It was very perceptible beyond the meridian one hundred leagues westward of the *Azores*, but much more so in *Trinidad*, where cool refreshing airs were felt in the morning, which must be more refreshing in the midst of the island. This arises, added he,

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from the oval form of the hemisphere, so that, as we advance farther, we ascend, as it were, up-hill, and breathe the coolness of the superior air; it follows therefore of course, thought he, that as the heat increases with the decreasing latitude, the inhabitants in *Africa* are found sun-burnt in the same proportion; copper coloured towards the Cape of *Bajador*, almost black in the islands of *Arguin*, and entirely black from *Sierra Leona*. In the *New World*, on the contrary, where the warmth of the sun is tempered with fresh airs, the inhabitants of the same latitude are to be of the colour and skin of the inhabitants of the *Canary* isles. Some later phenomena contributed to confirm this opinion, and to embellish this system.

XXVI. On the first of August, *Columbus* discovered the continent southwards, and called it *Isla Santa*, (the holy island); he traced it to the west side, where it forms a narrow straight with the point of *Arenal*, the eastern part of which he called *Boca de la Sierpe*, on account of its hideous aspect. The currents that roll in thunder, and those
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that rush from the opposite direction meet there and swell up like mountains; in this liquid struggle, the ships hovered on the brink of destruction, and the mariners were nearly froze with anxiety and fear. The Admiral steered to the north, to seek out another mouth, which he found twenty-six leagues farther, and called it *La Boca del Drago*: it is formed through the north western point of *Trinidad*, and *Cape de Lapa*. To escape new danger, he steered westwards, in hopes to find a better issue to the north, by sailing round the island of *Gracia*, for this was the name which the Admiral gave to that part of the continent which surrounds, as it were, the enclosed bay to the north. In this direction, he tarried along the coast from the 1st to the 10th of August, and found the sea smooth, with some apparently secure harbours also. The land appeared beautiful; at first, high and thinly inhabited, but somewhat farther, more low, mostly cultivated, and full of plantations. Some sailors went on shore about five leagues from *Cape de Lapa*, they found a house without a roof, and some traces of inhabitants who
had

had just fled. The fleet cast anchor because it was Sunday, which the Admiral never failed to solemnize, even during the voyage. It is easy to be understood, that on this day, the ceremony of taking possession of the continent so long sought for was celebrated. *Pedro de Terreros* took this ceremony upon himself, because a distemper had fallen in the Admiral's eyes, which impelled him to remain on board.

XXVII. On Monday the ships sailed farther, and by and by the *Indians* appeared on shore. Three or four of them were taken out of a canoe, carried on board, and presented with glass beads, bells, and other trifles, in order to allure the rest of the natives by these presents, with which they were highly pleased, to purchase their precious wares, and to receive information respecting the country. The Admiral succeeded, a vast number immediately came in canoes to the ships, and renewed the pleasant scenes of the first discovery in their admiration of the strangers, the liberality with which they offered whatever they possessed, the desire of

European

European toys, and their particular delight in bells, and every shining bauble. The natives touched, and smelled to the cloathes of some *Spaniards* which had gone on shore, and admired every thing given them with conspicuous pleasure. The chief theatre of festivities was opened in a place called the *Jardines*, (the gardens), the most delightful and populous part of the coast. Here the mute conversation and barter was carried on. The inhabitants brought parrots of different kinds, *Guacamayas*, bread, fruits, roots, and other things, resembling those of the *Haytites* and *Caribs*. But their drink was very different; some of white, and some of a dark-red colour, one of which tasted like the juice of unripe grapes. This was chiefly observed at the entertainments that were given to our people in the houses of two head natives, or pretended *Caziques*. Here the *Spaniards* were informed; that the province was called *Paria*. The inhabitants resembled those of *Trinidad*, and the rest of the gentler islanders, in colour and countenance, though they seemed better shaped, more intelligent likewise, and better cultivated; an opinion which

which arose from the novelty of the appearance, strengthened by the frankness with which they replied to our unintelligible questions, the artificial workmanship of certain very light canoes, with a kind of chamber in the centre of them, and the beauty of some large quadrangular cots. The women went quite naked; the men commonly wore striped cloths round their heads and loins; both sexes wore ornaments of little gold plates, suspended from the neck, and strings of coral beads of several kinds. On enquiry after the gold mines, they pointed to the west countries, inhabited, as they signified, by monstrous Anthropophagi. Some fine perforated pearls of various kinds, were intermixed with the coral beads: these raised the curiosity and avidity of the *Spaniards* to a high degree, and occasioned the Admiral to call this creek *Golfo de Perlas*, (the Gulph of Pearls.) According to the account of the natives, this pearl fishery was at a distance far towards the north and west. Yet, he conjectured, that they might also be found on this shore, because he saw a quantity of oysters at the naked roots of
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the trees, which are called *Mangles* in the language of *Espanola*.

XXVIII. There was no opinion, however improbable, that *Columbus* was not able to convert to the support of his own ideas. As the *Portuguese* carried a quantity of gold, ivory, and paper from the coast of *Malaca* to the equator; he hoped to find even more precious things in the present country lying under the same clime, especially from the consideration of the temperate and mild air; for the winds were likewise as cool here as at *Trinidad*. In addition to the gold and pearls, traces of aromatics and spices were discovered. Certain trees were hung with fruits like the oriental *Mirabiles*, perhaps, those that are known under the name of *Hobos*; *Columbus* looked on them to be the real *Mirabiles*. He did not doubt, but that he would discover other articles of value, if he could stop long enough to examine these countries, so remarkable in every respect. He formed these and other hopes on the opinion which the learned lapidary *Jayme Ferrer* pronounced by order of the Queen,

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namely, "Towards the equator the most precious things are to be found in abundance." To collect these fruits, he resolved in a short time to send out thither an expedition under the command of his brother *Bartholomew*. His anxious thoughts which for the present were solely directed to the care of *Esplanola*, and his desire to preserve the provision destined for that colony, which he had obtained with so much trouble, obliged him to sail without any farther delay directly to that island.

XXIX. For this purpose, he weighed anchor at *Jardines*, about forty leagues distant from *Boca del Drago*, and steered to the western bay of the gulph. The coast inclined to the south; the depth of the sea diminished every moment; and his ship of one hundred tons burthen was in great danger. He constantly heaved the lead, and caused the smaller caravel to sail along the coast. She went beyond the mouths of the rivers *Chuparipari* and *Guarapiche*, without finding any trace of an opening to the north. On the contrary, she discovered
that

that the coasts to the south-east ran on uninterruptedly, except where they were interrupted by the mouths of the fore-mentioned rivers, and other little streams. On the 11th the caravel came back, on which the Admiral who gave up all hopes of finding the route that he sought, resolved to return to *Boca del Drago*. The violence of the currents towards the east prevented him from steering along the coast; at last, he entered a harbour, which he called *Gatos*, not far from the point of *Lapa* or *Paria*, and the day following he sailed into the dreaded mouth. But the wind sunk into a calm in the midst of the channel; the high and impetuous torrents rushed against each other with equal force; the ships mountain high remained for a time immoveable, and were in the utmost danger of being dashed to pieces on the rocks on the coast. The dismayed crew looked for their safety or destruction to the issue of the contending waves. Luckily, the currents of the gulph threw the ships into the north sea. *Columbus*, filled with gratitude to Almighty, who had snatched him from such imminent danger,

steered westwards, and left two islands to north-east, which he called *Ascuncion*, and *Concepcion*: the former lying north of *Boca del Drago* about twenty-six leagues, seems to be that which now-a-days is called *Granada*. He pursued his course to the *Cape Tres-puntas*, and observed that the country of *Paria* extended to such a length, that the end of it could not be seen. He wished to be able to penetrate farther, in order to convince himself of his supposition of having found here the continent of *Asia*. But the concern for the colony, the turbulent disposition of the crews, and the distemper in his eyes, obliged him to alter his course. Before he launched into the main, he passed two islands at each side; he called that at the right *Festigas*, and the one to the left *Margaretha*. When he was in the open sea, he sailed about two hundred leagues in five days, steering mostly to the north-west. On the night of the 19th, he arrived at *Esplanola*, fifty leagues from the harbour of *Ozama*, and the following morning he cast anchor at *Beata*.

XXX. He

XXX. He considered the eastern currents as the cause of his having steered so side of his course, which he supposed had driven him unperceptibly to the west during the nights, when he was obliged to slacken sail, lest he should be driven on shoals or any unknown country. These currents were so rapid in the gulph, that notwithstanding the very moderate gale, he was carried sixty-five leagues from sun-rise to sun-set. He attributed this rapidity to the height from which the waters of the new hemisphere, which he represented to himself as resembling the upper half of a pear suspended by the stalk, precipitated downwards as it were. Besides this, the waters were driven northwards by the eastern currents and the winds prevalent in the torrid zone, and beyond the tropic of cancer. The same direction continued in the sea, between the continent and the islands. To these currents he attributed the formation of the great archipelagus from *Trinidad* to the *Lucayan* islands, persuaded that the waters had washed away the eastern countries, through their continued dashings. Of this he found an evident mark in the

situation of the islands, which are narrow from north to south, and on the contrary, of great breadth from east to west; they lay, according to his supposition, near the continent on the extremity of *India*, the beginning of which he believed to be the province of *Paria*; the commencement of immense countries, which, according to the opinion of many eminent authors, must compose the greatest part of the globe. He conjectured that the countries discovered about twenty leagues south of *Trinidad*, occupied a large extent in that direction, that they stretched uninterruptedly to the point of *Lapa*, and inclined from thence to the west, where they rose up in a huge chain of mountains, which could be seen even beyond *Margarita*. As to the coasts opposite to *Trinidad*, which he took at first for so many islands just barely separated, they afterwards appeared to him as one coast, and their apertures from the upper arm of the *Orinoco* to the creek of *Irapa*, as so many rivers. Their united currents in the gulph of *Paria* resembled a large river of twenty-eight leagues in breadth, and the gulph itself a lake of fresh water,

water, hemmed in perhaps by an isthmus, which united *Trinidad* and the continent. In fact, the fresh waters, whose founts are in the continent, rush with such violence towards the north, that they subdue the salt currents that run from the opposite side.

XXXI. Such were the thoughts of *Columbus* at the surprizing view of the immense body of fresh water, and the extraordinary vehemence with which it precipitated itself. Whilst he was endeavouring to examine the causes of such strange phenomena, the idea came into his mind, whether the scite of Paradise might not be found in the centre of the new hemisphere, which lies under the equator in the highest region? Whether this wonderful tide might not flow from that eminence, and be one of the four rivers which, according to the Scripture, issued from *Eden* to divide the earth. This supposition appeared to him to receive an additional weight of probability from the temperature of the air, as some coolness was perceptible in the morning, notwithstanding it was so near the equinoctial line. This temperature which,

in all probability, appeared to him still more agreeable than it really was, in consequence of the heat which he had felt in the calm region, and of the wet and rainy weather in which he had navigated along the coast of *Paria*; this mild temperature, which according to his idea, encreased in proportion as he ascended must, agreeably to his system, augment more and more, till it reached to the highest degree of perfection on the top of the height; a perfection to which the equality of the days and nights, the conformity of the seasons, and the lofty situation above the sphere of the earthly evaporations, and the region of the clouds and tempest, contributed very much. Such a concurrence of circumstances, which, according to the saints and fathers of the church, were peculiar to the blest abode of the first pair, could only take place under the equator; and as it was most probable, that Paradise lay in the east, it was as likely, that *Paria* might be the beginning of that delightful country. At all adventures, it seemed unquestionable, that the greatest river ever seen must flow out of a large immense country.

XXXII. Time

XXXII. Time has evinced whether he was right in this conjecture, in which the syllogisms of our philosopher, after so many windings, ended. He lost himself in this labyrinth, partly from the want of sufficient lights, and partly from an adherence to a system too rashly adopted. He started, however, learned questions, and disputations enough, because to extensive reading he joined observation, experience, and unremitting meditation, the only source of physical science. He supposed a certain elevation of the globe about the equator, and natural philosophers, in later days, have discovered that the earth is spheroidical throughout the whole compass of this circle. He conjectured, that the variety of the disposition of the circumambient air had an influence on the needle, as he could not otherwise account for the cause of its declination. A series of navigations and experiments has cleared up this variation, and proved that an intense cold sometimes deprives the needle of all its magnetical affections; perhaps, some future observations on this subject may justify *Columbus's* supposition. Even his
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error, with respect to the circle described by the pole star, of which he believed, that from an optical illusion, it enlarged itself in proportion as the observer advanced to the equinoctial line, distinguishes as a philosopher of the highest intellect of his age. I shall pass over his opinions of the causes of the great variety of colours, which mark the human race that live under the same climate; a phænomenon which, notwithstanding the present wide diffusion of knowledge, is yet enveloped in as palpable obscurity as it was in the darkness of the fifteenth century. Our illustrious discoverer began to develope this obscurity, he enlarged the sphere of geographic knowledge, taught by his example, to observe the œconomy and structure of the world, and admirable was his perseverance in the opinion, that the land he had just discovered must be a continent, and a new part of the world.

XXXIII. Filled with an enthusiasm inspired by this persuasion, he wished to enter the harbour, in order to send the report of so lucky a discovery as speedily as possible to the

the court, and to entrust the continuation of it to his brother *Bartholomew*. In the mean time, he intended to regulate and arrange the affairs of the colony, which gave him much concern. On the 20th of August, he dispatched some *Indians* to inform the *Spaniards* of his arrival in the island. He himself steered eastwards, and ten days after made the harbour of *Ozama*, in spite of the contrary winds and the currents. The mariners, almost overcome with fatigue, reposed and refreshed themselves in the new town, which, according to the Royal command, had been erected at the mouth of that river, on the eastern bank. *Don Bartholomew Columbus*, the founder, called it *Santo Domingo* *, after the name of his father; perhaps also in regard to the day, and the saint of that

* *Oviedo*, who resided in this town about thirty years after its establishment, thus describes it; “ But now, to say somewhat of the principal and chief places of the island, which is the city of *San Domingo*: I say, that with respect to the buildings, there is no city in *Spain* for its size, no, not even *Barcelona*, which I have often seen, that is to be preferred before generally.

For

that name, which fell together with the solemnity of its foundation on the 5th of August, as Oviedo tells us. The joy of the Admiral

For the houses of *San Dominico* are, for the most, built of stone, as well as those of *Barcelona*. The situation is superior to that of *Barcelona*, as the streets are much wider, more plain, and without comparison more direct and straight; for being formed in our time, independent of the excellence of the foundation, the streets were laid out with line, compass, and measure, wherein it excels all that I have ever seen. It is so near the sea, that the wall only separates one side of it from the ocean. The river *Ozama*, which is an excellent port, runs close by the other side, and washes the foundation of the houses, in which ships of burthen sail very close to the land, and, in a manner, under the windows of the houses. The fortrefs and the castle are raised in the midst of the city. The haven is very commodious for unlading vessels, so that but few places in the world can exhibit the like. The chimnies in the city are about six hundred in number, and the houses of which I have already spoken, some of which are so large and well built, that any lord or nobleman of *Spain* may lodge in them with his family and train; particularly that which *Don Diego Columbus*, the Viceroy under your Majesty, occupies in this city, that I know of no man in *Spain* that possesses one equal to it, by a quarter in goodness, considering all the materials and commodiousness

Admiral was very great at the sight of his brothers and friends, the happy choice of the harbour, and the convenient situation

modiouness of it; as likewise the situation, being seated above the said port, and entirely composed of stone; consisting of many pleasant and spacious rooms, with as fine a prospect of land as can be imagined. It appears to me so princely and magnificent, that your Majesty might be lodged as well therein, as in any of the most superb edifices in *Spain*. A cathedral church has been lately erected of stone and lime, and of good workmanship, where the bishop, according to his dignity, as well as the canons, are well endowed. There are likewise three monasteries, bearing the names of Saint *Dominice*, Saint *Frances*, and Saint *Mary of Marceo*, which are well built, though not so curiously as those in *Spain*. There is also a good hospital for the relief and sustenance of the poor, which was founded by *Michael Passamont*, your Majesty's treasurer. To conclude, this city is advancing every day in opulence and good order, as well, for that the said Admiral and Viceroy, with the Lord Chancellor and Council appointed by your Majesty, daily reside here; as also that the wealthiest men of the island resort here for the most convenient residence, and traffic in such wares as are either brought out of *Spain*, or exported thither out of her islands, which abound at present in so many articles, that they supply the Mother country with many commodities requiting such benefits as it first received from *Spain* as it were with usury."

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of the new town; yet it was very much embittered because he did not find the three ships in the harbour, which he had dispatched from the *Canaries*, in addition to which the rebellion of *Roldan* had thrown every thing into disorder and confusion, and as it appeared had attained to such a height that it would not be easy to extinguish it.

XXXIV. When the Vice-Governor was apprized of the arrival of the two caravels in *Ozama*, he set out immediately for that place, whilst *Roldan* took a position about six leagues from the harbour. The fresh reinforcements, the Admiral's letters, which promised additional food and troops, and the Royal letters to the brothers of *Columbus* fanned the courage, and revived the joy of the men that had remained faithful, and on the other side depressed the audacity of the insurgents. The Vice-Governor, anxious for peace, sent *Coronel* to admonish them in his name, to desist from their wicked designs, to take the general good of the colony to heart, and to return to obedience; offering in that case a safeguard and a free pardon for all that

that had passed; but the ring-leaders were so obstinate and exasperated, that they would not even suffer the messenger to speak in public, as they dreaded the influence of his speech on the minds of their followers, nor did they yield to any thing but to go to *Jaragua*, and there to live after their own will and pleasure; and so they did immediately, inveighing outrageously on their whole march against the Government, and endeavouring to render it odious to the natives. When it appeared that there was no hopes of bringing them back to their allegiance by mildness and persuasion, it was resolved to proceed against them in a judicial way, and sentence was pronounced, in which they were declared guilty of High Treason.

XXXV. The mischiefs this disorderly gang committed in the dominion of *Bohechio*, were not so soon perceived where the *Indians* were obliged to satisfy their wants, and to give up their wives and daughters to gratify their lust and licentiousness, and where they plundered them of the gold, silver, and other taxes, against which they clamoured so loudly. Yet the consequence

quences of their outrages appeared sooner in *Vega* than elsewhere; the seeds of disorder and disaffection took root immediately. The chief *Caziques* united themselves once more with *Guarionex*, to kill the few *Spaniards* who straggled singly through the villages, and with collected force to destroy the town and fortrefs of *Concepcion*. The day of full moon, on which the barren almanack of the *Haytites* was founded, was destined for the execution of the plan. One of the *Caziques*, a conspirator, armed his troops, and surprized the fortrefs before the hour appointed; but he was repelled with a considerable loss of men. *Guarionex*, to whom he fled, was so enraged at his precipitate rashness, which frustrated the whole measure, that he caused him to be killed; and as he now saw that the conspiracy was discovered, dreading the vengeance of the *Spaniards*, he resolved to seek his safety in a speedy flight. Nevertheless, the rest of the conspiring *Caziques* drew their troops together and invested *Concepcion*. The garrison, thus besieged, however weak in number, repelled the first assaults, whilst in the mean time the Vice-Governor

Governor arrived with a considerable force, dispersed with ease the panic-struck assailants, and made a great number of them prisoners, some of whom underwent exemplary punishments, because in this insurrection *Juan Mates* the first convert, and his three brothers, who also had received baptism, were killed. *Fray Roman* declared, that he considered these, his disciples, as martyrs, because they yielded up their souls each in these words, "*Dios Naboria Daga*," "I am the servant of God."

XXXVI. After the insurrection at *Vega* was stifled, it only remained to seize on the person of *Guarionex*. He had fled with his family to the northern mountains, inhabited by the *Ciguayans*, the rudest and boldest race in the whole island. *Mayobanex*, their chief Cazique, resided in a place called *Cabron*, about ten leagues westward of *Isabella*. He received the fugitive ruler of *Vega* with hospitality, and offered to defend him with his whole power against the Christians. But how feeble is number and savage intrepidity, destitute of military discipline, and proper

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arms!

arms! The Vice-Governor marched to the mountains with ninety foot soldiers, some horsemen, and according to *Martin*, with three thousand *Indian* auxiliaries, who, instigated by the desire of avenging themselves for past offences on the mountaineers, their neighbours, accompanied him with all their heart. He availed himself of them chiefly as guides and porters. He reached the mountains without any impediment, and halted on the banks of a considerable river. Having received information that about six thousand *Ciguayans* were assembled in a wood on the opposite side prepared to fight, he marched up the river to find a passage that could be forded. He found one, but just as he was preparing to cross it, the enemy with a furious clamour rushed forward and let fly a volley of arrows, in order to prevent the *Spaniards* from passing over the river. The latter, however, covered by their shields, pursued their way with little loss, and dispersed the Barbarian army. They now turned to *Gubron*, eager to engage with ten *Caziques*, and eight thousand men, whom *Mayobanew* was said to have collected. They experienced

experienced little resistance, but they were obliged to be very vigilant and watchful, and to examine the districts before them, as they were incessantly harrassed by several bodies of archers, who lay in ambush for that purpose. A formidable army was discovered near the residence of the Cazique, which on a sudden sallied out of the wood, attacked our men, and wounded some before they could protect themselves with their shields. This, however, irritated the *Spaniards* to such a degree of fury, that they routed the enemy in a moment, killed a great many of them in the pursuit, and made a considerable number of them prisoners.

XXXVII. After this, the Governor sent word to *Mayobanex*, that he would be his friend and protector, if he gave up the Cazique of *Vega*: to which he answered, "That *Guarionex* was a good man, worthy of his protection, the *Spaniards* on the contrary were wicked, mischievous, blood-thirsty invaders, with whom it was impossible to hold any friendship or commerce."

In order to punish this insolence, he advanced to the capital, laid fire to many neighbouring places, and sent another messenger with greater menaces, on which the dismayed people began to lament, and unanimously demand that *Guarionex* should be delivered up, as the cause of all their mischief and destruction. Nevertheless, the noble and generous Cazique remained immovable in his resolution, and resolved rather to sacrifice his life than to violate his promise and duty. Instead of remonstrating, he broke off the negotiation with the *Christians*, and ordered, if any new messengers arrived, that they should be put to death. This order was really put in execution on two *Indians*; the Governor, who followed at a distance, saw the sanguinary deed with his own eyes. This procedure exasperated him so highly, that he marched to the town with the utmost speed; the petty Caziques, thrown into terror by the mere sight of the *Spaniards*, immediately fled with their men. *Mayobanex*, when he saw himself abandoned, escaped also, accompanied by his relations and a part of his people. The rest were less devoted to their chief

chief, on the contrary were about to kill the Cazique of *Vega*, the author of so much discontent ; but he saved himself likewise by flight. The two Caziques concealed in the mountains, for a long time eluded the search of the *Spaniards*, who wandered at random, blindly about, through rough and pathless districts, but found great difficulties in the execution of their design, notwithstanding the terror which they had spread over the country. For the natives deserted the villages, took their food along with them, and kept at a distance from the places through which the *Spaniards* passed. If one or more of them were caught by chance, they were either ignorant of the retreat of the fugitive Caziques, or affected to be so. Such fatiguing and troublesome marches and the want of victuals—for there was scarce sufficient *Cazabé* found—exhausted the *Spaniards* so much, that the greater part of them was permitted to return to *Concepcion*. The Governor pursued his plan with thirty chosen warriors. One day when some of them out of want of other food, went to hunt for *Utias*, they alighted on

two *Indians*, who carried a load of bread for the family of *Mayobanex*, and forced them to discover the retreat of the *Cazique*. Twelve intrepid *Spaniards* took upon themselves to seize him; for that purpose they undrest themselves and painted their skins in varied colour stripes, in the same manner as the warlike *Ciguayans* used to do. In this disguise they surprized the *Cazique* with those that belonged to him unawares, and carried them as prisoners to the camp, and thence to the fort of *De la Vega*, to which the little army victoriously returned, after an absence of three months in the expedition.

XXXVIII. The *Ciguayans* gave themselves up to despair, and became so dejected and intimidated, that they did not even dare to approach the Christians to implore their mercy. Love, however, inspired a certain man of distinction with so much courage, as to go to *Concepcion* to solicit a pardon for his wife, who was related to *Mayobanex*. His tears and entreaties prevailed, and his success inspired
others

others with hopes, that mercy would be also extended to their Prince; for this purpose they went, entreated, supplicated, and offered as the condition of their solicitations, the utmost submission and services. They were so successful as to obtain the liberty of his wife and family, but it was thought dangerous to enlarge such a powerful Chief of so resolute a character, and so much beloved by his vassals and subjects. As for the rest, the *Ciguayans* conducted themselves with submission and obsequiousness towards the *Spaniards*; and to ingratiate themselves in their favour, they discovered the unfortunate *Guarionex*, who wandered in a solitary manner through the mountains, and scarce ventured out of his dens or caverns unless when urged by hunger. A party was dispatched to seize him; they carried him to the fortress, where he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The Admiral seems to have taken a part in this sentence, as well as in other regulations and transactions, subsequent to the seizure of *Mayabanex*, as he arrived in *Espanola* a short time

after the conclusion of the expedition against the *Ciguayans*.

XXXIX. He found the whole country, as far as it extended between the harbours of *Isabella* and *San Domingo* in breadth, in a peaceable and submissive state, but several provinces were laid waste and desolate. Many of the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, a great number were condemned to slavery, others extirpated, partly by the sword, partly by distress and misery. The horrors of a protracted war were followed by the destructive effects of famine, which spread from our establishments and forts universally over the neighbouring provinces. The remnant of the inhabitants abandoned their rural labours, partly through the want of tranquillity, the requisite concomitant of agriculture, and partly, because they saw that the fruit of their industry only served to support their enemies, and task-masters. Of course, the inhabitants of *Isabella* suffered most, as they were commonly the feeblest of the *Spaniards*, and neither fit for war nor work. The desolation

lation began in their district; the successful experiments in *European* agriculture, which had been made in that part, fell into decay; nor is it known, whether mills and other works which were begun were ever finished. Thus it happened, that the poor dwellers of this town, who were entirely abandoned to a solitary helpless state during the seditious and warlike commotions, fell sick, and the mortality encreased every day, as they were quite destitute of *European* and *Indian* food; nor did they derive any advantage from the ships which arrived with fresh provisions, because they had landed on the opposite southern coast, and the whole attention and care of the Vice-Governor was entirely directed to the foundation of *San Domingo*, and the sedition in *Concepcion*. The *Spaniards* who domineered in those districts were in a better situation; for they stripped the villages of whatever they could find, forced the *Indians*, their vassals and slaves, to cede some plantations of *Maize* and *Yaca*, or to hunt *Utias*, and to work in the gardens which had been laid out in *Vega-real*. Notwithstanding this, a considerable

considerable part of the soldiers, as well as of the other *Spanish* inhabitants in *Vega*, *Bonao*, and on the southern coasts were dying every day, and the survivors led a miserable and uncomfortable life, since they saw no prospect of a reward for the many troubles and inconveniences which they had suffered. Even their scanty subsistence was procured with difficulty. The hopes of gold were almost abandoned. It seems, that *Belvis*, director of the mines, returned with *Aguado* without having made the least trial; and afterwards, there was no leisure for examining gold mines.

XL. *Roldan*, and his mutinous followers might only esteem themselves happy in the enjoyment of the abundance and pleasures in which they lived in *Jaragua*, if the happiness of a gang of robbers could be lasting, or if those provinces had not been involved in the ruin of the other devastated provinces. The rebels themselves, in the midst of these licentiousness, stung by remorse and seized with fear, were dissatisfied with their situation, and wished to find
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an expedient to return with impunity. For all that, they dazzled most part of the people, by the false glare of luxury and debauchery, and made the government tremble, notwithstanding the reinforcement which the Admiral had brought with him; for they had, likewise, found opportunities of collecting additional reinforcements and support, as the three ships which the Admiral had dispatched from the *Canaries* had landed at *Faragua*. *Roldan* and some of his adherents apprized of the arrival of these vessels went to the place where they anchored, and gave out that they lived in that district by the command of the Vice-Governor. They remained on board for two days, and purchased under this pretext fifty-four swords and forty cross-bows, and a number of the new comers joined the party. It is certain that they soon learned the real state of affairs, but it was now too late and past remedy. *Alonso Sanchez Carvajal*, however, persuaded himself that he might still be able to remedy the evil, and perhaps reduce the rebellious, if he staid for some time in their company. He resolved, therefore, in communion with the
other

other two captains to try this plan. As he saw that the east winds and currents, which had driven the ships into that quarter, were likely to retard their voyage to *San Domingo* for a long time, he thought proper to send the artificers and workmen engaged in pay by land under the command of *Juan Antonio Colombo*, that they might reach it more speedily, in better health, and without consuming the provisions brought from *Spain*. *Roldan*, perhaps, had influenced this resolution. For the day after the men debarked, and were preparing to set out, they went over almost in a body to the rebels. Out of forty men *Colombo* saw himself reduced to six or seven. He represented to *Roldan* the service of the King, the welfare of the colony, and other weighty reasons, but all in vain. He found himself obliged to return aboard, and to follow *Arana* to *San Domingo*, where they landed on the first of September, after a long and troublesome navigation, with spoiled provisions and damaged ships. *Carvajal* arrived soon after without having effected an agreement, yet, not without hopes of bringing it about. He treated the insurgents

gents in such a manner, as to impress them with an opinion that they had found a mediator in him, who would heal the breach agreeably to their wishes. To facilitate the reconciliation, he prevailed on them to approach *San Domingo*. They really came to *Bonao* in four divisions, led on by *Roldan*, *Pedro Riquelme*, *Pedro Gamez*, and *Adrian de Mogica*. He represented to the Admiral the power and pride of *Roldan* in colours calculated to render him inclined to lend an ear to the terms proposed.

XLI. The necessity of acceding to these propositions was the more urgent, in proportion to the paucity of the number of those who were able to fight for the government. The new comers were mostly sick in consequence of the fatigues of the voyage, and the effect of a new climate. Out of the veterans some were exhausted, others infected with sedition, and the whole almost dissatisfied with their situation in a country where they were forced to submit to painful labours, with such clouded prospects of advantage and little interest. “As true, as God conduct

duct me to Castile," was the common wish and oath. Under these circumstances, the Admiral found himself constrained to act in direct opposition to his inclination. To win the hearts of the people, he ordered it to be promulgated, that whoever wished it, should be permitted to return to *Spain* in five ships, which should be fitted out for that purpose. He wrote to *Miguel Ballester*, commander of *Concepcion*, to take care of the fortress, because *Roldan* would approach it; he ordered him, to offer a pardon to the latter in his name, for all that had passed; and if he should demand it, to give it to him in writing, that he might come as a friend to *San Domingo*. In the course of some days, *Ballester* was informed that the rebels were already assembled in *Bonao*. He executed his command with fidelity, but he found the insurgents haughty and uncivil. *Roldan* declared, he despised the proffered amnesty; for he did not stand in need of it, as he was sufficiently powerful either to ruin or support the government; and, therefore, he would not lend an ear to any proposition until the *Indians*, who had been made slaves at *Con-*
cepcion,

cepcion, were previously delivered up to him; finally, he would not recede to any terms but such as were to his advantage, nor negotiate with any person except *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, whose prudence he knew from experience. This latter circumstance caused the sincerity and fidelity of *Carvajal* to be suspected, independent of several additional signs of his ambition and good understanding betwixt him and the rebels. It was taken ill, that he had kept *Roldan* two whole days on board his ships, that he came from *Jaragua* escorted by a party under the command of *Gamez* to the frontiers of *San Domingo*, that on the same day he had sent letters and some presents to *Bonao*; however, in consideration of his noble birth, and his conduct otherwise, the Admiral endeavoured to dissipate the suspicion raised against him, and with the consent of the most eminent persons, he authorized him to begin the negotiation.

XLII. This confidence only was able to accommodate the matter. The traitors grew haughty and insolent in proportion to the weakness

weakness of government. At first, they refused to listen to this deputy, who was so much calculated to their wishes, because he appeared without the slaves whom they had demanded; and all the prudence and eloquence of *Carvajal* was necessary, indeed, to prevail on *Roldan* and *Gamez* to visit the Admiral, and to agree with him about the terms. Yet, the rebels opposed that, and declared, that if any conciliation should take place, the whole of it ought to be done in writing, and with the consent of them all. This opinion prevailed. Accordingly, they delivered in their terms, but so high and disgraceful to government as might be expected from wretches, who were determined to push matters to the last extremity. This mutinous intention evidently appeared from the letters which they sent, in which *Roldan*, *Mogica*, *Gamez* and *Diego de Escobar*, his former servants, renounced all connection with his house and service, under the pretext of saving their honour and their lives, but, in truth, it was only to be able to continue their enmity with less disgrace. *Ballester* who accompanied *Carvajal* to *Bonao*, and whilst the latter went backwards

backwards and forwards with the proposed articles, staid there, saw very well into their design. He wrote, therefore, to the Admiral, and advised him to settle the dispute in any manner whatever, because the fire of rebellion blazed every day stronger and stronger; otherwise, it was seriously to be apprehended, that the greatest part of the people would join *Roldan's* party, as some had done already. As the rebels also unanimously demanded to be sent back to *Spain*, he exhorted him to consent to that requisition, because otherwise, his person and authority would be equally in danger.

XLIII. Hitherto the Admiral had flattered himself with the hopes of seeing the matter speedily accommodated in an honourable way, because he was assured, that the hatred and animosity of the Chief Justice and his partizans were levelled against his brother *Don Bartholomew*; for several insurgents, about the time of his return, had sued for intercession; even *Roldan* himself, had expressed a wish for the arrival of the Admiral for the purpose of reconciliation. According-

ly; *Columbus* had suspended the dispatch of the five ships, which were destined to set out towards the latter end of September, to the 18th of October, to the great detriment of the cargoes, which properly consisted of *Indian* slaves, who had fallen sick and were dying in the harbour. Considering this damage, and the malice of the rebels, he ordered the ships to sail without farther delay, and permitted the malecontents, who wanted to go, to embark. He sent the report of the new discovery, with a chart of it, samples of the productions of the continent; some pearls, and little pieces of gold which he had received in the gulph of *Paria*, to their Majesties. He drew their attention in his report to the pearls, as the first which were sent from the western world. He pictured the new discovered *Paria*, as the very country which several ancient writers had described as the depository of immense wealth, and the theatre of wonders. He promised to realize these splendid hopes in a short time, as three ships were already prepared for that purpose, and delayed only in consequence of the negotiation with *Roldan*. He would, he said, crush
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this rebel with his horde, if he did not return to submissive obedience, or repair to the island of *San Juan*, till the decision of the court should arrive. For he was obliged, in one way or other, to break the insolence of those rebels, and restrain the evils which arose from their rebellion to the colony.

XLIV. He made no doubt, but after a while, that he would be able to effect this; though at the time affairs wore a very lowering aspect. The taxes were no longer paid, the country was insecure, and the licentious *Spaniards* set the laws at defiance. The rebels treated the *Indians* in a cruel and tyrannic manner, killed several of them out of mere wantonness, compelled them to bear them about in palanquins, pillaged, robbed and seized on whatever they pleased; and abused the women in the most lewd and indecent manner imaginable. The loyal and faithful *Spaniards*, tainted by these nefarious examples, and restrained only by the persuasion and promises of a feeble administration, were not much better; most of them loiterers, who likewise kept *Indian* concubines; the good

as well as the bad, had each two or three *Indians* in their service. But he hoped also to apply a remedy to this evil as soon as harmony should be restored, and to succeed in every thing if their Majesties favoured his designs, if the officers of the court and in *Seville* would cease to join in the clamours against *India*, discredit the ill reports industriously propagated of it, and not retard the proceeding, as they had done at the setting out of the last fleet, and thereby occasioned such detriment. For at present, he was resolved to restore the colony to such a state, as to render it productive of the promised fruits. One only evil, said he, must be borne for some years: that the *Spaniards* should be permitted to avail themselves of the *Indians*, made prisoners of war, as slaves. Accordingly, he sent the ships freighted with slaves and Brasil-wood; both would yield on an estimate a profit to the crown of two millions of *Maravedis* a-year; and would encourage private persons to embark with the government in that trade, which consequently would be carried on briskly, without the expence of the exchequer. As to wine and cloathing, *Spain* ought to furnish them

as

as before; but the colony would yield sufficient to supply all the other wants of life in abundance. With respect to *Cazabe*, said he, a kind of bread, which proves to be as nutritive and wholesome, as it is agreeable to the *Spaniards*, the natives sow large fields of it. There is also plenty of *Batatas*, and many other roots, known under the general name of *Ages*. The country abounds in rivulets and rivers stored with fish, as well as the sea shores: as to animal food, there is an immense number of swine and hens.

The *Utias*, much more pleasant to the taste than rabbits, are so numerous that an *Indian* in one day can furnish his master with fifteen or more. Nothing is wanting, but that the christians should lead a christian life. For this purpose, he thought it necessary at every conveyance to send fifty or sixty of the refractory loiterers, and inimical individuals, to *Spain*, and to receive as many honest and industrious workmen in exchange; he also invited over many virtuous clergymen, calculated as well to promote the conversion of the natives, as to correct the morals of the *Spaniards*; besides, a learned and experienced

rienced judge, for the pure and upright administration of justice, without which the ecclesiastics would be of little service. Finally, he requested financial officers from the government; for he hoped that the taxes and contributions would revive again, and in general, that the Supreme Being would aid in finishing an undertaking began in his holy name.

XLV. After he had dispatched the ships, he wrote to *Roldan*, that out of affection for him, he had delayed the sailing of them as long as possible, lest their Majesties might be informed of his guilty conduct before they heard of his return to duty. He reminded him of the partiality which he had hitherto evinced for him, and of his duty to his Sovereign, to which he added a mild exhortation to induce him to come to an agreement on reasonable terms. *Roldan* in answer to this, expressed his wish and willingness to comply with his desire, and requested another safe conduct to enable him to carry on the negotiation. He obtained it and soon appeared in *San Domingo*. His conduct was
such

such as to excite suspicion that he only came for the purpose of bribery, and winning over persons to his party. For he proposed high terms, and agreed to none, under the pretext of being obliged previously to consult with his companions. After his return to *Bonao*, he sent some articles of treaty that he knew would not be acceded to, with a letter, dated Tuesday the 6th of November, in which he says, That he could not prevail on his men to consent to any more, and that on account of the want of food, he would march to *Concepcion*, where he would wait till the Monday following for an answer. The Admiral was obliged to consult moderation, partly to avoid the terrors of a civil war, and partly out of the want of friends and adherents. Yet he maintained his dignity and refused to sign the disgraceful articles, though he was disposed to enter into all admissible terms. Previous to the lapse of time agreed on he sent *Carvajal* to *Concepcion*, accompanied by *Diego* of *Salamanca*, his steward, as notary, with instructions and full power to conclude a treaty. At the same time he

transmitted a general pardon to all that had taken up arms against his authority, who should submit in a month's time to the legal government, and offered them permission to return to *Castile*, if they desired it, and assignments for the payment of their salaries; in case of non-compliance, he declared that he would proceed against them to the utmost rigour of the law.

XLVI. When the deputies arrived, they found *Roldan* blockading the fortress, under the pretext of getting a criminal out of it to put him to death. *Carvajal* by his prudence and address knew how to appease him, and also after a short negotiation concluded an agreement. The proclamation, which held out a general pardon, was affixed to the gates of the fortress, which made the rebels only laugh. They resolved at last, that *Roldan* and his partizans should embark within fifty days in the harbour of *Jaragua* for *Spain*, in two ships properly victualled, and furnished with testimonials of their good services and assignments for the payment of their due earned wages.

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It was stipulated besides, that they should be at liberty to take a number of slaves along with them, or in the room of them, as many *Indian* women as were pregnant or had been already delivered of children. It was also agreed, that satisfaction should be given for their sequestered goods, especially to *Roldan* for three hundred and fifty swine, with several other advantageous terms, relative to their rights and the safety of their persons. After the Admiral had signed and sent the treaty back to *Vega*, he published a declaration, stating, that any of *Roldan's* party that chose might remain on the island, either in the pay of the King or as proprietors of land, and have slaves sufficient for cultivation ; a plan which was very advantageous to the colony and most of the *Spaniards*. They all seemed, however, ready to leave the island, and went to *Jaragua*. In order to facilitate their departure, the expedition of the Vice-governor for the farther discovery of *Paria*, and the promising pearl trade, was suspended, to the great grief of the Admiral. Three ships

ships only were in fit condition to sail for *Spain*; and of victuals there was also scarce sufficient for such a number as intended to embark. Accordingly the sailing of the caravels, the *Santa-Cruz* and *Nina*, was delayed to the end of January 1499.

XLVII. As soon as the Admiral had got rid of so irksome a business, he began to think of the best mode of arranging and ordering the affairs of the colony, of encouraging agriculture, improving the breed of cattle, working the mines, and ameliorating the state and condition of the *Spaniards*. For this desirable end, he committed the care of *San Domingo* to his brother *Don Diego*, and went himself, accompanied by his other brother, into the interior of the country. The first object of his attention was the neglected state of the town of *Isabella*; from thence he went to *Vega*, and travelled through the other provinces. In the month of May, when he expected the ships would sail, he composed an ample detail of the state of the whole island, addressed to the King and Queen,

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in which he advised them to punish *Roldan* and his partizans, after their arrival, especially those under sentence of transportation, who instead of serving out their time had joined the rebels, and signalized themselves by every act of atrocity and depredation. He also advised their Majesties to seize on the stores and the *Indian* concubines, amongst whom were daughters of some of the Caziques, likewise the gold, of which, as the report was, they possessed large quantities, and in general all other things acquired by robbery and other illegal ways.

XLVIII. But on a sudden he was apprized that *Roldan's* adherents had altered their minds, and were determined to remain on the island. As a justification of their breach of the treaty, they pleaded the long delay of the caravels, which did not arrive at *Jaragua* till three months after the ratification of the contract. They laid the fault of this on the Admiral. Indeed, the ships had put to sea two months earlier, in the beginning of February, but they were so damaged in a tempest that they were obliged
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to return to be refitted. *Carvajal*, to whom the business of this expedition was consigned, explained the causes of the delay, and sufficiently pointed out to *Roldan* the impropriety of their pretexts; but all his entreaties and persuasive endeavours were in vain. The Admiral addressed a letter to the heads of the conspirators, which only furnished them with fresh matter of scorn and derision. The ships were ordered to return to *San Domingo*. The perfidious wretches not content with the mischief they had done, evidently betrayed their design, to persist in their insolence and wickedness. The prudent *Carvajal* exerted his utmost power to bring them to a proper sense of subjection; but it was loss of time and labour to reason with base-hearted, treacherous and contumacious banditti, yet what may not a wise forbearance obtain? Without appealing to the rebellious gang, he worked on the mind of the ring-leader with nervous remonstrances, and took a friendly leave of him. *Roldan*, absorbed in thought, offered in a polite manner to accompany him half way, and when alone with him,

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he testified his readiness to follow his advice, and his wish to put an end to the contest. If the Admiral would consent to another safe conduct, he would be glad to visit him, and to make an agreement that would be satisfactory to both; but he thought it necessary to keep the terms secret, till they were ratified.

XLIX. *Carvajal* travelled highly pleased to *San Domingo*, and made his report to the Admiral on the 15th of May. *Columbus* testified the most lively gratitude for the man that restored public tranquillity; and anxious to see the disastrous affair settled, he hastened in person to the harbour of *Jaragua*. Previous to his arrival, the safe conduct desired was dispatched in the form of a regal placart. *Carvajal*, *Coronel*, *Pedro de Terreros*, *Alonso Malaver*, *Diego de Alvarado*, and *Rafael Cataneo*, all men of great esteem and credit, signed also an obligation with their own hands, in which they bound themselves to defend to the utmost of their power the persons and property of *Roldan* and his men during the negotiation,

negotiation, provided they did not undertake something prejudicial to the King and his Governor. To gain time, and to continue the commenced view of the country, *Columbus* went with two caravels to them in the harbour of *Azua*, about twenty-four leagues westwards. *Roldan* came aboard the main ship, and proposed another treaty, under condition that he should be re-appointed perpetual Chief Justice; that a public declaration should be issued, that all the commotions arose from calumnies and false reports; that fifteen persons, whom he should point out, should be sent to *Spain* in the first ship that sailed for that country; and that the rest of his party should be allowed the right of possession in the island. Every article was granted; on which he sprung on shore and commanded the agreement to be signed, to which, however, he added the terms of the negotiation of *Vega*, and some other articles equally high, especially, that if the Governor should infringe the treaty, he and his allies should compel him, by whatsoever means they should think fit, to a due observance of it. Situated as the

Admiral

Admiral was, he signed it with this additional clause, that the King's commands and his own should be obeyed. *Roldan*, in an insolent manner, immediately assumed the title of Chief Justice, arrogantly started up and threatened all those who disobeyed his orders with the gallows. He behaved in the same haughty manner in *San Domingo*, where the treaty was solemnly ratified on the 28th of September, 1499. He constantly clung to his partizans, and looked down with insolence and contempt on all the rest, and kept them through threats in perpetual fear. He forced *Rodrigo Perez* to resign his office, because he would not have any other judge besides himself in the island, except such as he chose to name, and soon after he appointed a creature of his own, *Pedro Riquelme*, justice in *Bonao*, where it seemed he intended to get firm footing with his adherents.

L. The Admiral winked at all this, and sacrificed his private resentment to the public good. For this purpose, he endeavoured to conciliate the affection of the
Spaniards

Spaniards by condescending complaisance and lenity, to disunite them, and employ every one according to his inclination. He left it to the choice of those who wished to continue on the island, either to enter into the King's pay, or to settle as proprietors of land, and that with this inducement, that they might make use of *Indian* slaves, or freemen, to till the ground assigned them. Most of them embraced the latter proposal. He caused written assignments for the purpose to be distributed, and endeavoured in the best manner possible to unite the good of the planters with the public weal of the colony. He found means in a considerable degree to separate the partizans of *Roldan*, who intended to settle themselves together in *Jaragua*, and to disperse them in several places; some, where establishments had been already formed, and others, where they were just begun, such as *Bonao*, and *Santiago de la Vega*. It would, indeed, have been dangerous enough to suffer one hundred and two seditious persons, a knot of mere lewd wicked rogues, to live in society together, the more so, as the Governor could hardly keep an equal number
of

of soldiers in the chief town: But he was indulgent enough to parcel out land to them with an unsparing hand, and islanders to cultivate it. Thus, he granted *Roldan* several estates in the district of *Isabella*; and others in *Vega-real* and *Jaragua*, with the liberty of employing the vassals of the chief Cazique, *Bohechio*, in the cultivation of his plantations. He also gave him two cows, two calves, two mares, twenty swine out of the royal herd, and very probably a number of hens. The quantity of land thus distributed may be conjectured from this gift. Necessity compelled him to it, as well as to the distribution of slaves, without any design, perhaps, of perpetuating the grants. This was the case at least with respect to *Roldan* and his party, whose fate he expected would be decided by the court. As to the concessions made to the rest, he does not express his real opinion. In all appearance, he did not in the least doubt, but that he had a right to force the *Indians* into the service of the *Spaniards*, and to grant the latter, in the first instance, the use and profits arising out of the soil, and after four years the property of all the land, not even excepting the cultivated fields of the

islanders, which he gave away by thousands, with the plantations of *Yuca* and *Ages*, in the dominions of some Caziques. In a word, he considered the island as a conquered country, and assumed all the pretended rights of a conqueror in the name of their Majesties. Accordingly, his fellow-combatants were to have their share of the spoil, and to be allowed to settle themselves as possessors in *Esspanola*, and to look upon the natives as their slaves. Such territorial divisions were at that time established under the title of *Repartimientos*, or the repartitions, and afterwards extended to all that was taken possession of. About the same time he raised a company of soldiers, destined to march through the whole island in order to levy the contributions, which had not been paid for some time, to maintain good order amongst the colonists and natives, and to suppress commotions in their commencement, if any should happen to appear.

LI. Having triumphed over all those afflictive embarrassments, he thought of sending ships to *Spain*, and with them the malecontents that insisted on leaving the island,

island, including the fifteen persons named
 by *Roldan*, and a number of slaves. He
 authorized the two commanders, *Barrantes*
 and *Ballester*, to urge his petition to the
 court, and entrusted them with the report
 which he had drawn up of the conduct
 of the insurgents. In these writings, he
 detailed all the transactions, his sufferings and
 distresses, with the causes which had driven
 him into such an unbecoming and illegal
 treaty. He repeated what he had written
 in the month of May, and particularly
 pressed their Majesties to send out a learned
 judge, to put an end to the calumnies of the
 seditious, who did not cease to murmur
 against his pretended rigour, though they
 had been treated with more lenity than
 their base and criminal conduct deserved;
 nay, as if his heart misgave him, that
 the resolution had been already taken in
Spain to send a chief justice, he requested
 that the authority of such a judge might be
 limited, lest it might become prejudicial to
 his prerogatives, as Governor and Viceroy.
 In the beginning he had a mind to under-
 take the voyage himself, and also to take
 his brother, the Vice-governor, along with
 M m 2 him,

him, but important business induced him to relinquish this intention.

LII. The *Ciguayans*, who had tried in vain by every act of submission to obtain the liberty of their Prince, revolted a second time, and committed horrible devastations at *Vega*. Soldiers were sent thither to subdue them. On the other hand, accounts were brought of the arrival of four ships in the harbour of *Brasilia*, now called *Yaquina*. On better information it appeared, that this fleet commanded by *Alonso de Ojeda* came from the country of *Paria*, and it was suspected, not without reason, that *Ojeda* had landed to take in slaves and precious dye-wood, which grows on the mountains of that district in abundance *. *Ojeda*, however, pretended

* As *Columbus*, after all his promises, was not able to send any thing from the *New World* but slaves and dye-wood, with insignificant quantities of gold, as the equipment of fleets, the support of the colonists at *St. Domingo*, and the salary of so many persons who were then in the King's service, as soldiers, magistrates, and other officers, cost the crown large sums, and the insurrection of *Roldan* having protracted the hopes of finding out at last the real gold countries; the court thought proper to adopt

tended that from the want of provisions, after so long a voyage, he had been under the necessity to make for the first harbour in the colony that presented itself. In fact, he was busily employed with fifteen of his men in an *Indian* village collecting bread, when *Roldan* arrived with a party of twenty-six men, sent by the Admiral, to prevent mischief. *Ojeda* satisfied him by shewing the royal letters patent, and his offer, that as soon as he had provided himself with necessaries

adopt other measures. *Columbus* himself had recommended the propriety of permitting the trade, and the equipment of shipping to be carried on by merchants or other wealthy individuals, to relieve the crown from a portion of the expence. The court, therefore, or rather *Fonséca*, the adversary of *Columbus*, permitted private persons in 1499 to embark at their own risk in voyages to *India*, to seek and subject new countries to the crown, but not to touch either on the possessions of the *Portuguese*, or the discoveries of *Columbus*. *Ojeda* was the first who obtained this permission. He had accompanied the Admiral in his first voyage, resided for a long time in *St. Domingo*, and was sent in 1499, without *Columbus's* knowing it, to *Paria* to examine more closely the pearl islands, so that his arrival was quite unexpected by the Admiral. The hostilities which he committed in *St. Domingo* arose from his not being subordinate to *Columbus*, and that *Fonséca* had stirred him up against the Admiral. *Amerigo Vespucci* sailed with him in this voyage. See *Herrera*, Dec. 1. L. iv. p. 97, &c. T. N.

cessaries, he would visit the Admiral and give him an account of every thing. A hypocritical submission, under colour of which he succeeded in appeasing the deputy, and supplying himself immediately with whatever he wanted, from the end of the current year to the February following in the year 1500.

LIII. After all, so far from keeping his word, he failed to the gulph of *Jaragua*. As he found the *Spaniards* that lived on this coast ready to join in every desperate enterprise; he resuscitated the flames of evil discord, and represented the Admiral as a cruel despot, who as soon as he found that his adversaries were peaceable and unsuspecting, would not fail to wreak his bloody vengeance on them, notwithstanding the settled treaty. He declared, that his disgrace at court was a matter beyond all doubt, as the Queen, his chief support, was so dangerously ill, that the faculty did not entertain the least hopes of her recovery. He himself boasted of his unlimited influence over the Bishop *Fonseca*, who was invested with plenary powers in the department of *Indian* affairs, and made them believe, that
he

he and *Carvajal* were authorized by royal commands to have a share in the government, and particularly to effect the payment of the salaries so unjustly withheld*. By the means of such artful insinuations and remonstrances he succeeded to bring over a great number of the inhabitants to his side, and to render them willing to go with him to *San Domingo*, for the purpose of humbling the Governor; as to those who refused to take part with him, he intended to compel them to it by force, and for that purpose, he surprised them in the night, the result of which was a violent engagement, in which

* The *Spaniards* engaged in pay received in the *New World* only the necessaries of life from the public magazines, and their salaries after their return to *Castile*; these, however, were late or never paid, for which reason the adherents of *Roldan* made it one of their principal conditions, to have assignments for themselves from *Columbus* on the King's exchequer. *Ferdinand Columbus* relates in the life of his father, that when the court resided in *Granada* in 1500, he saw with his own eyes upwards of fifty *Spaniards*, who had returned, assembled before the palace, who, as soon as they saw the King, cried out to him *paga, paga!* pay, pay! He and his brother, who were pages at the court at the time, dared not appear before these people, without exposing themselves to insults. *Histor. del. Admir.* C. 86. p. 98. T. N.

a number was killed and wounded on both sides. He also designed to seize on *Roldan*, but the latter was apprized of it, and marched with a strong escort to *Jaragua*, and doubtless would have avenged his perfidy and manifest hostility with severity, if *Ojeda* had not hastily repaired to the fleet. He dared not venture again on shore, though he was invited in a friendly manner, in order to make up certain differences in a personal conference. They observed each other with mutual diffidence, and each endeavoured to outwit the other. The fleet sailed along the coast to the province of *Cahay*. Here *Roldan* saw that it was not probable that an accommodation would be brought about; he therefore proposed that *Ojeda* would send him a boat, that he might go on board and continue the negotiation. *Ojeda* sent one with armed men, but *Roldan* had no sooner stepped into it with six or seven of his companions, than he fell upon the men that brought the boat, overpowered them, killed some, and took the boat on shore. *Ojeda*, who had now only one bark left for the service of the fleet, came in a friendly manner, gave the *Spaniards* back which he had carried away, and promised to
sail

sail away about his business, which he did as soon as he had regained his boat.

LIV. *Roldan* stopt for some time in *Cahay*, because he distrusted the duplicity of *Ojeda*. When he was about to depart, he was requested by several soldiers to assign them domestic settlements, before he left the Province. It is true, he said, that he ought to wait for the orders of the Governor; but as the entreaties of the people were so urgent, he thought he could not help acceding to them; he distributed lands and *Indians* amongst them, and played the generous man by ceding to them a portion of the dominions of *Bohechio*, which properly was yielded up to himself. He also permitted a certain person called *Don Hernando de Guevara*, (a kinsman of his friend *Adrian de Mogica*) to settle himself in *Cahay*. This was a seditious wicked wretch, who under sentence of banishment by the Admiral from the island, came to that quarter, after the fleet, in which he was to have embarked, had put to sea. He served as a clear proof of the disorders which arise from too much indulgence. He persuaded the renowned *Anacaona* to give him her beautiful daughter in marriage.

After

After a sharp reprimand from *Roldan*, for his disobedience in leaving the place assigned to him, and the impudence of aspiring to a woman of such rank, he was obliged, to his great mortification, to return to the quarter he belonged to. He was, however, so exasperated, that he broke out into seditious and abusive speeches, in consequence of which the chief justice ordered him to quit the province and appear before the Admiral. *Guevara* submitted, and obtained pardon, in requital of which he stirred up other wicked fellows to plot the murder of the indulgent justice, or to put out his eyes. *Roldan* luckily discovered the conspiracy, and nipped it in the bud by seizing on the ring-leader with seven of his hardened accomplices,

LV. I don't know, whether he intended to evince his moderation, in forbearing to act as judge in his own cause, or was induced out of respect to the Admiral; however, he reported the occurrence, and awaited his decision. A scrupulosity very laudable in itself, but unseasonable in the situation of the colony at the time, as the Government was feeble, and the people tumultuous and debauched by indulgence. Under these circumstances-

cumstances, a speedy punishment would have had a good effect. The Governor also contributed to the delay of it, as he ordered the criminals to be surrendered into his own hands, a delay, which occasioned succeeding mutinies. *Adrian de Mogica* endeavoured to set his kinsman free; for this purpose he stirred up the *Spaniards*, who lived in several parts of *Vega-real*, so that a number of rebels in a short time crowded to his standard. In short this affair began to assume an aspect not less alarming than the insurrection under *Roldan*, but warned in time, the Admiral hastened to stifle it. He was in fort *Concepcion*, with nine or ten men only, on whom he could depend; with this small party, he surprised *Mogica* and his accomplices in the night, carried him as a prisoner to the fort, and caused him to be executed. Soon after he seized on other conspirators, amongst others *Pedro Riquelme*, who on a former occasion had raised his resentment. He dispatched the Vice-governor against several others who had fled to *Jaragua*, who seized on twenty of them, and extinguished the flames before they could spread farther in the western provinces. As to *Roldan* he remained steadfast in his loyalty; *Guevara*
was

was conveyed to *San Domingo*, where he was imprisoned with the rest of the notorious prisoners.

LVI. In this manner those dark and menacing clouds passed away, and serenity every where appeared. The Government revived, and regained its proper energy. The *Indians* were peaceable, obedient, and complaisant. Taught by long and sad experience that the resistance to the *Spanish* domination never failed to draw down loss and ruin on their heads, they bent their necks to the yoke. For the present they only endeavoured to sooth the pangs of rigid slavery, and to win the favour of their masters. When they saw that they could insinuate themselves into their good graces by adopting their customs and religion, many of them began to wear garments, and to desire baptism. This general subjection took place about six months after the last subjugation of the *Ciguayans*, which, it seems, did not cost much trouble, as the cotemporary writers scarce touch on this rebellion; though it broke out at a critical time, when *Ojedo* on one side, and *Riquelme* on the other, promised but too successfully to kindle the slumbering sparks
of

of civil war; a crisis, dangerous to the Admiral, who had been reduced to the most mortifying concessions through the insolence of *Roldan*. But what distressed him most of all, was the thought of his disgrace at court, announced by *Ojeda*, and that to the injury of his privileges, glory, and interest, ships, without his knowledge, had been sent to *Paria*, which subtracted from the growth and prosperity of the colony, which did not answer by any means to his flattering promises, and the fear of seeing at length so many rivals and enemies triumph over him. On the 25th of December, when his mind was invaded with a crowd of such melancholy ideas, which almost drove him to the verge of despair, he had recourse to God, and was comforted in a wonderful manner. He fancied he heard the voice of the Lord, who cheered him, pointed out ways and means, and promised him abundance of gold. On the same day he was informed that rich ores had been discovered every where within a circuit of eighty leagues. Encouraged by such a promising beginning, he did not less cherish the avidity than the industry of the *Spaniards*. He granted them what they had so ardently
desired

desired long ago, to acquire gold for their own use, and to avail themselves of the *Indians*, not only in their husbandry, but also in the mines; and the profit in both answered the industry and the avidity, so that scarce any one desired to remain on the salary list, because those that possessed lands and *Indians*, lived in easy circumstances, had abundance of victuals, and the fairest prospects of growing rich. Those that worked in the mines, usually earned from six to twelve gold *Castellanos* * a day; some raised it to fifty, some to one hundred and twenty, nay many to two hundred and fifty, which equal five marks †. The King, in whose name the Governor took possession of considerable estates, had not only his own *Indian* slaves employed in the search of gold, but also re-

* *Castellano de oro*, a gold coin, which is no longer current. As Mr. *Munoz* does not state the value of this coin, it is to be supposed that he means the *Excellentes* by it, which were coined from 1497 to 1516, partly of *Indian* gold, for these were also called *Castillanos*. T. N.

† *Ferdinand Columbus* assures us, that at the time pieces of massive gold had been found, which weighed as much as one hundred and ninety-six ducats. *Hist. del Admirante*, c. 84, p. 97. T. N.

ceived

ceived the third part of all gold collected by private persons. The royal coffers accordingly rose in proportion to the prosperity of the colonists.

LVII. *Columbus* felt not a little satisfaction when he saw so many difficulties subdued, and the *Spaniards* pleased and industrious. The *Indians* were so reconciled to their fate, that a person could travel over the whole island without exposing himself to the least danger ; so tractable and submissive that it did not require any difficulty to draw them from their own scattered plantations and little villages, into the new establishments of the *Spaniards*; a circumstance which *Columbus* hoped would contribute very much to facilitate the civilization of the natives, the dissemination of christianity, and the establishment of good order in the payment of the taxes *. He flattered

* Every *Indian*, who paid the tax laid on him in gold or cotton, received at every time of payment a small counter of copper or brass, which he was obliged to wear on his neck, and which was exchanged every three months for another marked with a different stamp, in order to mark the good and prompt contributor, from the bad and tardy one. *Herrera, Dic. 1 Lib. II. p. 61.*

T. N.

himself,

himself, that in the course of three years the royal revenues arising out of the colony would amount at least to sixty millions of maravedis. In addition to this, he planned the establishment of a fort in *Paria*, with a factory for the pearl trade. His mind became unruffled and serene with such ideas and animating prospects; he began at length to taste the fruits of his labours, and persuaded himself that he had settled affairs on such a basis as to satisfy their Majesties, and to triumph over his enemies. But how unstable is the happiness of man, how evanescent his hopes! Scarce a month had elapsed, since he began to see the end of so many distresses and sorrows, and to believe that the moment had arrived, when he might repose himself, and enjoy the reward of his toils, when he experienced a disastrous blow, which embittered all the remainder of his life.

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N n

such

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tive*

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BOOK

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divide

*divide the mutineers, but he does not succeed; they all repair to another province---The Indians, emboldened by such incidents, drive the Spanish settlements into such a crisis, that the colony, in the year 1498, would perhaps have come to a miserable end, had not assistance sent by the Admiral, arrived from Spain---The Admiral at last departs loaded with honours and rewards---receives eight ships well manned and furnished with provisions---At the Canary islands he dispatches three ships directly to Espanola---he himself steers south-west towards the equator---Discovers the island of Trinidad---Reflections on the difference between this country and Africa, in regard to temperature, air, and colour of the inhabitants---Discovers the continent, and after surmounting some dangers in the gulph of Paria, takes possession of it---Pearls are perceived among the ornaments in the dress of the inhabitants---The Admiral returns to Espanola---discovers Margarita and other islands---arrives in the harbour of S. Domingo, a town lately established by his brother---New commotions among the mutineers---Sedition of the Caciques at Vega, which the Vice-governor suppresses---Persecution of Guarionex, who fled for shelter to the Ciguayans---War with the latter---they are routed, and their Cacique made prisoner---The same fate befalls Guarionex---Roldan, with his rebels, avails himself of the arrival of the three ships that were sent by the Admiral, which had arrived in Jaragua---
 Insolent*

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.





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